1: Freeman E-5 (1949-1951)1955 OC6 Iban OC6

x 243
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Frontispiece

An Iban rice farm in central Sarawak

[facing title page]

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disciplined effort. But at the same time it is not a task of immediate urgency; it is easy for the lazy and the dilatory to find excuses for shirking their responsibilities. In fact this is what happens, so that among the various *bilek* families of a long-house one finds wide variations in the time and industry devoted to weeding. At Rumah Nyala one or two farms were weeded with the greatest of care, while others were left either unfinished or only perfunctorily covered. Felling, dibbling, sowing and reaping are standardized operations which every *bilek* family must perform, while, in contrast, weeding (like *ngeredak*) is a task which may be more or less thoroughly discharged. This is not to say that the importance of weeding is underrated. Time and again I overhead such statements as "If the weeding is not thoroughly done there will not be a good crop" ("*Enti enda mantun badabadas enda bulih padi*"); "Amid weeds *padi* refuses to thrive" ("*Alam babas enggai padi idup*"); and "The grain of unweeded *padi* lacks substance" ("*Padi enda di mantun nadai isi*"). On another occasion a group of men made the point that after a thorough weeding insect pests are fewer, and this is greatly to the advantage of the growing *padi*.

122. On the completion of sowing there is usually a brief lull in farm work, but within about a week all conscientious families have embarked on their weeding. Weeding (*bantun*, v.f. *mantun*) is predominantly the work of women. Girls begin to join in the work with the approach of adolescence, and they continue year by year until old age prevents their participation. At Rumah Nyala, the most assiduous weeders were old ladies of between sixty and seventy years, and there were only two non-participants, one of sixty-five and the other of seventy years, both of whom were partially crippled. To protect herself from the sun each woman wears a jacket (*kelambi*) of cloth, and a huge, mushroom-shaped hat (*tanggi*) fashioned from the fronds of a jungle palm (*daun biro*). The commonest tool is a short-bladed bush-knife, or *duku*, but some families equip themselves with specially made implements called *ilok*. A typical *ilok* from Rumah Nyala had a round-ended, iron blade (2" × 6"), set at right-angles to a slender shaft (4" in length) which was embedded in a wooden handle shaped to fit the hand. Women engaged in weeding leave their *dampa* soon after dawn, taking advantage of the coolness of the early morning, but they normally remain at the farm throughout the day, pausing for food and rest at about mid-day, and returning home towards late afternoon. Those actually living on their farms, in a *langkau*, or farm hut, begin even earlier, and they are also able to make use of the hour or two of coolness at the end of the day. In thorough weeding an entire area is worked over methodically by hand, the women bending, kneeling or squatting between the clumps of growing *padi*, and uprooting or cutting away the thick carpet of weeds that covers the farm. Under these conditions progress is slow, for a woman must take care not to injure the young *padi* plants, and the difficulty of her work is often increased by the steepness of the terrain, and the fact that her path is obstructed by stumps and fallen logs. To lighten the task of weeding the women of a *dampa* try, as far as possible, to organize work groups on a labour-exchange basis. Usually there are three or four *bilek* families represented in each group, and all the women concerned move from farm to farm in strict rota, spending one day at each. Companionship and gossip, it is said, make the drudgery of weeding easier to bear.

123. The main brunt of weeding falls then, upon the women, and if sufficient women be available no man will stoop to the task. Nevertheless, the time comes when most men are compelled to do so. One of the special features of the Iban

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9. After the firing of the farms: the burn has been a bad one and to clear the land for sowing the farmer is gathering scattered branches and making bonfires of them. This operation is called *ngebak*. Photograph taken on 3rd October, 1949; Sungai Sut, Kapit District.

10. Dibbling taking place. The man is wearing a loin-cloth (*sirat*), the traditional garment of Iban males. Photograph taken on 15th October, 1949; Sungai Sut, Kapit District.

11. An Iban woman sowing *padi*. The burn has been an exceedingly poor one, but the farmers have no recourse but to sow their *padi* amid the fallen timber that still covers the land. The woman is wearing a sun-hat (*tanggi*). Photograph taken on 3rd September, 1949; Sungai Saban, Ulu Sut, Kapit District.

12. A young Iban girl amid ripening *padi*; on another part of the farm reaping is already in progress. The stumps are those of virgin jungle (*kampong*), and beyond lie the hills of the Mujong. Photograph taken on 21st February, 1951; Sungai Sut, Kapit District.

13. A young man setting a spear-trap (*peti*) at the edge of his farm to protect it from wild pigs. He is wearing a hand-woven jacket (*kelambi*). Photograph taken on 4th March, 1950; Sungai Sut, Kapit District.

14. A watch-house (*langkau umai*); with walls and roofing of bark, it is strategically placed in the centre of the farm. In the foreground young *padi* is springing up. Against the front wall of the hut a tying-frame (used in *ikat* weaving) is leaning. Photograph taken on 21st February, 1951; Sungai Sut, Kapit District.

15. An Iban woman guarding her farm. The *padi* in the background—the second successive crop from virgin jungle—has already been reaped. Photograph taken on 20th February, 1951; Sungai Sut, Kapit District.

16. Reaping in progress: the woman is gathering the panicles one by one and placing them in the reaping-basket (*sintong*) which is fastened about her waist. (The *padi* shown here is that of a test plot which gave a yield equivalent to 42·8 bushels per acre). Photograph taken on 24th April, 1950; Sungai Sut, Kapit District.

17. After reaping the *padi* is packed in large carrying baskets (*lanji*) and transported back to the *dampa* or long-house to be threshed. Photograph taken on 22nd April, 1950; Sungai Sut, Kapit District.

18. Winnowing taking place on the open platform (*tanju*) of a farm house (*dampa*). One woman pours the threshed grain from a basket (*baka*) while the other fans with a winnowing tray (*chapan*). Photograph taken on 12th April, 1950; Sungai Sut, Kapit District.

19. A woman planting *sengkenyang*—magical plants which are believed to watch over and minister to the needs of the growing *padi*. They are planted close to the sacred rice (*padi pun*) in the centre of the farm. Photograph taken on 15th October, 1949; Sungai Sut, Kapit District.

20. An old man and his daughter making an offering to the *padi* spirits (*antu padi*) during a *nganjong ka penyadai* ritual. This important ritual inaugurates the harvest. The offering (*piring*) can be seen resting on the ground between the two officiants. Photograph taken on 7th March, 1950; Sungai Sut, Kapit District.

21. In the reaping basket (*sintong*) which this young man is carrying is the seed (*benih*) of the sacred rice (*padi pun*) of his *bilek* family. Dressed in an *ikat* jacket, worn in honour of the sacred rice, he is taking part in a ritual to celebrate the conclusion of the harvest. Photograph taken on 20th May, 1950; Sungai Sut, Kapit District.

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Plate 9. Secondary burning (*ngebak*).

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Plate 10. Dibbling in progress.

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Plate 11. An Iban woman sowing *padi*.

Plate 12. A young Iban girl amid ripening *padi*.

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Plate 13. Setting a spear-trap (*peti*) against wild pigs.

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Plate 14. A watch-house (*langkau umai*) built in the centre of a farm.

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Plate 15. An Iban woman guarding her farm.

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Plate 16. An Iban woman reaping *padi* by hand.

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Plate 17. An Iban youth carrying freshly reaped *padi* back to the long-house.

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Plate 18. Two Iban women winnowing their *padi*.

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Plate 21. A young Iban man carrying the seed of his sacred rice (*padi pun*) in a reaping basket (*sintong*).

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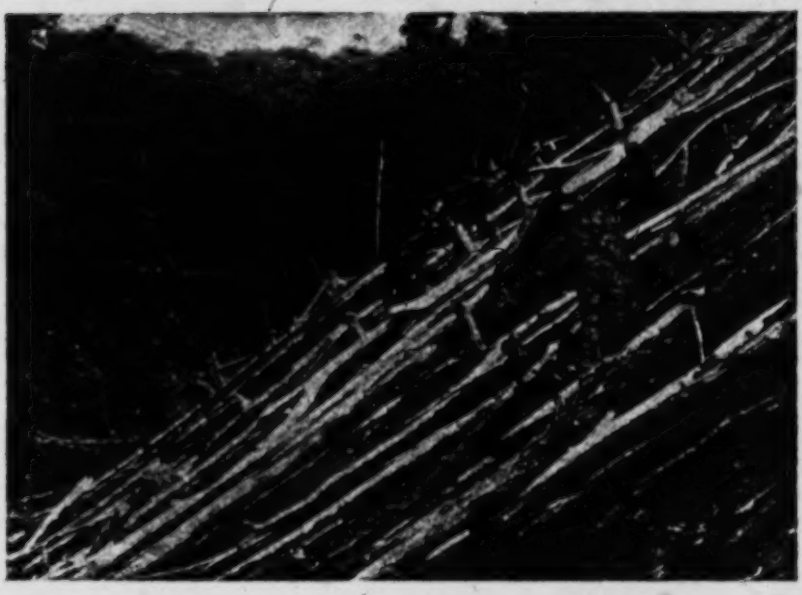

Plate 22. A steep slope being prepared for cultivation.

3: Low G-5 (1844-1847) 1848
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Perhaps they only become manangs after having proved themselves incapable of becoming the fathers of families, but I am not inclined to believe that such is the case.

In general appearance the sea Dyaks have the advantage of the Malays and land tribes, being of a higher, though still short, stature, well made, and with limbs of excellent proportions; a subdued and calm, but resolute air; an imposing carriage, walking with a light and graceful step, and peculiarly self-possessed bearing; these qualities impress the stranger more favourably than the smaller stature, less elegant figures, darker features, and more cunning expression of the countenance of the Malays.

The dress of the sea Dyaks is very simple, the principal article of it being the chawat, a long, narrow cloth, which passing several times round the waist, and being brought between the thighs, has its broader and ornamented ends hanging before and behind to the knees. The ends hanging thus have very much the appearance of broad tails at a distance, and when these are made of the inner bark of trees, as is frequent among the land Dyaks, might easily suggest the idea of tails; and we consequently find that a race of men with these appendages inhabiting the interior is a notion very prevalent along the coast. In ordinary weather, and when about their usual occupations, the chawat above described is their only clothing, but in wet or cold days they wear a coarse jacket of cotton,

3: Low G-5 (1844-1847) 1848
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291 coloured brown; these jackets and chawats are manu-
439 factured by the Dyaks of Sakarran and Sarebas, as are also the cotton bedangs of the women, and in times of peace they form an article of export to all the tribes of the neighbouring countries, the natives of none of which manufacture them for themselves.

301 A war party, or individuals of the Dyaks of Sakarran
304 and Sarebas, are immediately recognised by the members of the other tribes by the abundance of their brass ornaments, and particularly the number of rings in their ears, the outer cartilage of that organ being pierced with holes along its edges for its whole length for their reception: the hole in the lobe of the ear contains the largest and greatest number of these ornaments, three or four being frequently found in it, sometimes equal to three inches in diameter. The whole number contained in each ear of the Dyak varies from six or eight to fourteen, and in young men, occasionally to eighteen; these gradually decrease in size towards the top of the ear, where they are very small. Other ornaments
301 of brass-wire are distributed in profusion about their persons, particularly on their legs and arms; these latter are frequently covered with numerous rings of very strong brass-wire about an eighth of an inch in thickness, the elbow joint is the only part left bare, and it is frequently adorned with a large white bracelet made of the kima-shell; occasionally these rings of brass are flattened and stamped in various patterns, but the more general taste is to leave them round and

12: Haddon & Start E-4 (no date) 1936 OC6 Iban OC6

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x531

B. *Klapang tirai*, type 2; *N.*, 2345, pp. 100, 101.

A. *Klapang tirai*, type 1, 35,913, pp. 94, 95.

[end plate 32]

3: Low G-5 (1844-1847) 1848
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plain, taking great care to keep them highly polished, 301
One would think that the necessary weight of so much brass would be an inconvenient and cumbrous burden, but habit, and the taste for finery, soon reconcile this people to the load, and having been inured to it from their earliest infancy, they do not feel it so much as strangers would necessarily do. Large rings of this wire also adorn the legs of the young men from immediately below the knee to the middle of the calf of the leg, and on their necks strings of the teeth of their enemies, and of bears, panthers, and other wild animals, are their favourite ornaments.

In peace, their head-dress is a handkerchief, or a piece 291
of the inner bark of a tree, dyed of a bright yellow, and is so disposed that its ends stand up from the forehead; their hair is cut in such a manner as to give to their 302
features the most savage-looking appearance, being shaved from that part of the head near the temples in an arched form, so that the ends of the two arches meet in the middle of the forehead in a fine point: the hair is cut short in front, but left long and flowing behind. In war, they wear jackets of a thicker texture, 714
which are also padded with cotton to such a thickness as to enable them to resist the blow from the point of a wooden spear. Their head-dress on these occasions is a kind of fillet, about two inches broad, made of red cloth ornamented with very small white cowrie shells, or beads, worked into different patterns; from these fillets rise feathers of different kinds of birds, but

3: Low G-5 (1844-1847) 1848
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ment of their persons it attains equal length and luxuriance.

They are, like the men, fond of ornaments of brass or silver, and display them liberally on their persons; their principal article of dress is the bedang, a very short petticoat of their own cotton fabric of a coarse texture, and dyed of various patterns, but always of a brown or black colour. This scanty garment reaches from the hips to the knees, and is sustained in its position by being tucked in and fastened by a belt of fine brass chain-work, with a clasp, which encircles it; amongst those tribes that are richer than others, silver chain is often substituted for brass, and amongst the poorer ones, split rattans, coloured, or black, are frequently used: above and round this belt, and the upper part of the bedang, are innumerable folds of chain of brass, silver, and rattans, and when the wealth of the individuals will admit of it, strings of small silver coins are employed.

Their necks and breasts usually support numbers of folds of the same materials, with the occasional addition of beads; but these they do not so much esteem as the Dyaks of the hills: their arms are adorned with bracelets of silver very neatly made, being formed of thin plates of a broad and convex shape, so that they stand out from the arm; they have the patterns stamped upon them from the inside, and wear them from the wrist up the arm to the elbow, eight or nine in number; they do not, like the women of

3: Low G-5 (1844-1847) 1848
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some other tribes, wear brass-wire above the elbow joint. The women of the Sebooyoh and other tribes wear in their ears ornaments of gold or silver, which are of such an extent of surface as entirely to conceal that organ: like the bracelets, the pattern is stamped upon them from the back, and the thin plate is soldered to a small tube which passes through the hole pierced in the ear, and is fastened by a nut in the manner of the more elegant ear-ornaments of the Malayan women before described. When about their household employments, these ornaments and this dress are generally worn by the females, but when they pursue their out-door duties a jacket similar to that of the men, but of a little finer texture, envelopes the upper part of their persons, and protects them from the thorns of the jungle. In the house they wear no head-dress, but abroad a large hat, made of coloured rattans very finely woven, protects them from the weather: in size it approaches that of the market-women of Bruni, but is more peaked at the top, and of a much more elegant appearance.

From the little friendly intercourse between the town of Sarawak, and the Sarebas, and Sakarran Dyaks, I have not been able to collect such accurate details as I could have wished respecting the government established amongst the people of these rivers, which differs considerably from that of the hill tribes, and more nearly approaches that of the orang Kyan, to the eastward of them, in many of their institutions.

5: Roth E-4 (no date) 1892 CC6 Iban OC6

through weariness. The fire caught the thatch and spread rapidly through the long Dyak house, melting the people's guns and cracking jars. A neighbour told the woman what had occurred, and she, forgetful of the altered state of things, at once gathered her children and said to them "Death is better than slavery," paddled with them to the Dyak graveyard, where she ate and gave the children to eat *tuba* root, and only one child survived to tell the story.

Every transfer of slaves must be made before the court.

For treatment of captives, *see* Warfare.

4. *Dress, Personal Ornament, and Fashionable Deformity.*

The ordinary male attire consists of a *sirat* or waistcloth, a *labong* or head-dress, and a *takai buriet* or seat mat; the full dress consists of the above with the addition of a *klambi* or jacket, and a *dangdong* or shawl.

The ornaments are *grunjong, langgu, tinggu, kongkong, rekong, simpai, tumpa, tinchien, ngkrimok* or *unus.*

The *sirat*, called *chawat* by the Malays, is a strip of cloth a yard wide, worn round the loins and in between the thighs so as to cover the *pudenda* and *perinaeum*; it is generally six yards or so in length, but the younger men of the present generation use as much as twelve or fourteen yards (sometimes even more), which they twist and coil with great precision round and round their body until the waist and stomach are fully enveloped in its folds. It requires considerable practice to enable one to dispose of so much cloth gracefully about the person, but more time is spent by these young dandies of the forest than one would imagine, in order that they may appear to the best advantage; and the Ulu Ais seem to excel all other tribes in the skill and taste which they display in the disposal of this personal attire. One end is so arranged as to fall over the coils in front and dangle between the legs; the other is hitched up behind so as to hang at the back like a long tail, or is looped up at the hip to droop on the right thigh. The former plan is adopted where no *takai buriet* is worn so as to cover the hind-quarters as much as possible. A practised eye can tell in a moment to what tribe or section of a tribe an individual belongs, not merely by the length of his waistcloth and the way in which it is wound on, but also by its colour and the fashion in which it is decorated at its extremities. White, as being the plainest and most unpretending, is worn in mourning and during out-door labour; it is cheap and will wash. Dark blue, however, is the commonest throughout the country when out of mourning; it wears better, shows the dirt less, and is singularly becoming.

5: Roth E-4 (no date) 1892 OC6 Iban OC6
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Both kinds are sometimes bordered at the edges with scarlet flannel. Prints and shawl patterns are affected by the young men of the Ulu Ai and Ngkari tribe; crimson, and saffron, and orange by the young of the Lamanaks and Sakarang tribes. A *klapong sirat*, or tail flap is often worn by the elder men of the latter tribes; it is of a dull white colour with a fringe to it, being made of home-grown cotton; it is prettily and fancifully embroidered with coloured thread and is sewn on to either end of the *sirat* to hang before and behind. The younger men and boys prefer the fringes, *kabu sirat*, manufactured by the Malays, or ornamental borders of coloured flannel.

The *labong*, or head-dress, is a piece of cloth a yard or two in length and wound round the head in the style of a turban, but so disposed that one end stands up straight from the forehead. But there are various ways of wearing, binding, coiling, &c., whereby one tribe may be distinguished from another. A white *labong* is frequently the sign of mourning. Saffron and orange are favourite colours among the Lamanaks and Ngkaris; black prevails among the Saribas settled in Kajulan. The Ulu Ais affect shawl patterns and *buntas*, and the Sakarangs of Gutabai use Javanese handkerchiefs edged with scarlet and yellow.

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By others, young as well as old, a kind of cap called *selapok* is much worn. It is made of plaited rush or cane, sometimes coloured and sometimes plain, as well as coarse or fine; and is shaped either to fit closely to the skull or to resemble an ordinary square cap. Fillets or head-bands of the same material and variable quality are also worn with an open crown and bordered with scarlet cloth. Helmets of wickerwork are in vogue on the warpath and will be noticed in their place.

The Kiñahs wear bark cloth round their caps (as we wear crape round our hats) to show they are in mourning.

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The *takai buriet* is a small mat which is tied round the waist with strings so as to cover the hind quarters and furnish the wearer with a clean portable seat at all times, and at all seasons. The mat is of split cane and woven into an endless variety of patterns and decorated in a variety of ways, use being made of coloured flannel, nassar shells, and European pearl buttons for this purpose. Sometimes a bear's skin or a panther's skin is cut to the required size and worn in lieu of a cane one, and when this is set off with the requisite beadwork of the country it forms a most handsome ornament to the person.

I 291

The *klambi*, or jacket (*baju*, in Malay) is manufactured from yarn spun from their own cotton. There are several kinds of these, but the one known as the *klambi burong* is considered the best. In all of them the sleeves are open in the armpit, and the pieces sewn together with twine. The edges are bordered

5: Roth E-4 (no date) 1892 CC6 Iban OC6

with scarlet cloth. There is another kind much worn by the Sakarangs which resembles a waistcoat more than a jacket, being without sleeves. The Ulu Ais manufacture a coarse white jacket striped with blue. The *klambi subang* manufactured by the Saribas is of finer and closer texture than any other, and is in consequence far more expensive. The thread of which it is wrought is procured from the Malays, and is of a red colour. The lower portion of the back is embroidered with gold and silver thread with a fringe of silk depending from it.

The *dandong* or shawl is worn slung over one shoulder.

The ornaments worn in the ear are various, some in the lobe and others in the outer cartilage. The former are called *langgu* and the latter *grunjong*. The *langgu* of the Ulu Ai is borrowed from the Punan, and consists of a small but heavy coil of brass or copper. The Lamanaks wear larger but lighter ones of lead. Boys sometimes wear a narrow strip of scarlet as a pendant to the ear or a wing of the golden green *chrysochroa* (? *buprestis*) beetle, so highly valued in India.

The *grunjong* is worn in the rim of the ear, which is pierced along its entire length to receive the numerous rings of which it is composed, and it looks uncommonly pretty on the person; but when it is discontinued for a time as it often is from choice or by necessity, as in mourning for instance, and the holes are plugged with wooden pegs to keep them open, the cartilage looks hideously ugly and disfigured by slits. The rings are of brass, and smallest at the top gradually increasing in size until they reach the bottom. A very great many are worn in each ear by the young and vain, while elderly men are content with fewer. The variety worn by the Ulu Ai and Ngkari are strung with white cowries, which are kept in their place by a ruby bead at either end of the line, and are heavier by far than the plain brass *grunjongs* used by the Sakarangs.

The *tinggu* is a pendant worn at each ear to droop on to the shoulder and is only worn by over-dressed dandies. It is decidedly ornamental, being made of thin crescent-shaped plates of brass stamped and fringed with metal.

A *simpai lengan* is an armlet, or as it is literally translated, a loop for the arm. It is worn above the elbow joint and is often of dark wood or carved ivory, but the kind most generally in use is formed from the base of the cone of the *kima* shell (*conus guratensis*), and is grooved on its upper surface. The cavity is filled up with resinous substance, and studded with the scarlet seed of the *michelia* or with a few nassar shells. It is a most becoming ornament but extremely expensive—

A pair of the largest and best, costing £6.

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the fibre leg rings is made, is called *apieng* by the Dyaks and *limak* by the Kyans.

The female attire is very simple, consisting of a *bidang* or short petticoat when at home, and a *klambi* or jacket when out of doors. By way of ornament the women wear in addition to the finger rings, necklaces, and bracelets which have already been described, other ornaments peculiar to their sex, styled *balong*, *tusok penchieng*, *tina*, *ranghi*, *lumiet* or *tinchien*, *selong* and *gelang ghirieng*, all of which are described in due order.

The *bidang* is a short petticoat reaching from the waist to the knee, and is kept in its place by being folded over in front and tucked in on one side. It is manufactured from their own cotton fabric, which is first partially dyed and then worked into a variety of patterns to which the most fanciful names are given. The *bidang* worn in mourning is stained a deep indigo blue, and is called *kain baloi*. A lighter shade is worn out of mourning especially by the Ulu Ais, and is often adorned by them with small cowries or pearl buttons, and fringed with *grunongs* or little tinkling bells.

The *klambi* or jacket worn by the women is if anything larger than that worn by the men. The patterns are precisely the same but the texture is finer. The Saribas women wear besides a jacket dyed a ruddy brown with mangrove bark, with a square embroidery on the back, and a fringe of hawks' bells.

The *balong* is a chaplet of odoriferous berries worn by marriageable girls.

The *tusok pendieng* is a thin plate of embossed metal which is soldered to a small tube passing through a hole in the lobe of the ear; this tube is filled with a nut which screws into it, and keeps the tube from falling out.

The *tina* are slender hoops of crimsoned cane worn round the waist, and look like whalebone when coloured black, as they invariably are in mourning costume.

Rangki are the shell armlets already described under the name of *simpai lengan*. They are only worn upon especial occasions, and form part of the full dress of a woman of fashion. As they are far smaller in size, and not so well finished, they are less costly than those worn by the men. Some eight or nine however are worn upon each arm, the more the better in their opinion.

The *lumict* is the *rawai* of the Malohs (Malaus) and is a much esteemed body ornament of the Sakarangs. It is composed of a series of cane hoops covered with an infinity of diminutive brass links. A few of the hoops are made larger

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than the rest so as to hang loose on the hips. The series that encase the waist and the stomach fit close and are pinned together with brass wire; they are sometimes worn up to the nipples, but not every woman can afford to be at such great expense. 301

The *tinchien* is the body ornament of the Ulu Ai and Ngkari women. It is composed of some eight or ten parallel rows of large brass rings long enough to encircle the waist. They are strung on rattans and connected with one another by a network of cane inside. The ends of the band are furnished with a pair of vertical plates of the same metal, the outer edges of which are curled, the one inwardly, and the other outwardly, so as to catch one another, and effectively lock in the body. The rings (with the exception of every alternate one, which is an ordinary finger-ring), are long and broad, and rudely engraved a variety of patterns. These rings cost eight shillings a string, and a complete set of ten would cost five pounds.

The *selong* are dense coils of thick brass wire many fathoms in length, and of enormous weight, worn on the leg from the ankle joint to the thigh; they are not worn every day, as may readily be conceived.

The *gelang ghirieng* bracelet is not described.

Love of finery is inherent in the young of both sexes; the elderly are less fond of it and often dress very shabbily and save up their good clothes for their offspring. 291

The women sit with their legs straight out in front, and their petticoats tucked in between their thighs so as to expose nothing, but they expose their breasts. 516

The Sakarang girls are very fond of using an oil made from the *katioh* fruit, which has the scent of almonds; all their clothes are made from native cloth of native yarn, spun from cotton grown in the country. The inner bark of a tree called *ipoh* by the Dyaks and *tajam* by the Kyans, and which appears to be identical with the Upas tree of Java (*Antiaris toxicaria*), is used for clothing, and the young tree is grown for this purpose in Dyak gardens; the bark is not pulled off until a year after the tree has been felled. 302 824 286 248

Hair dressing.—The women make no attempt to part their hair but push it over the forehead and gather it into a knot at the back of the head—a plain or fancy one as the occasion may warrant. They use no oil of their own manufacture, but all who are able to afford the luxury may obtain it from the Malays. The hair is not so long as it might be, and is frequently cut short during dangerous illness. The circumstances of their lives are not favourable to a luxuriant growth. They have in common with the men their full share of exposure to 302

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J. D. FREEMAN

people are the descendants of migrants from the interior of the Second Division of Sarawak, and especially from the headwaters of the Batang Lupar. Travelling chiefly by way of the Katibas and Ngemah rivers, the first of these migrants reached the primeval forests of the Baleh in the early 1880's, but it was not until about forty years later, following serious conflict with the Brooke Government, that permanent Iban settlement was achieved [1]. Today the Baleh is an exclusively Iban area.

During the years—from 1949 to 1951—when my field research was undertaken [2], the Iban of the Baleh region were still little touched by the outside world. Their men, with long hair and bodies profusely tattooed, and their women, clad in ikat skirts of their own weaving, were all still pagan and pre-literate; and throughout the whole Baleh region, Iban culture—in all its extraordinary richness—was still a flourishing reality. In this essay then, we shall be concerned with the traditional ways of the Iban, ways which—because of the tolerant policies of the White Rajahs of Sarawak—have survived unscathed into the modern world.

THE IBAN LONG-HOUSE

All of the Iban of the Baleh region still live in long-houses. Architecturally there is nothing very remarkable about an Iban long-house, but many of them, out of sheer length, make an impressive spectacle. Rumah Tungku, for example, one of the long-houses selected for detailed discussion in this essay, extends in an uninterrupted line for more than a sixth of a mile. Standing on an elevated terrace, well beyond the reach of flood waters, and lifted high on score upon score of hardwood piles, it stretches—as do all Iban long-houses—along the bank of a river. Here and there, entry ladders of notched logs lead up like gangways to the *tanju*, an open platform that runs the entire length of the spindly structure and gives access to the public gallery and the family apartments beyond. Over both gallery and apartments a low-pitched roof of wooden shingles forms an unbroken expanse. At first glance the whole sprawling building seems like some huge barracks or pavilion.

Few long-houses have the dimensions of Rumah Tungku (sixty to a hundred yards is more common a length), but, casually regarded, all Iban long-houses do have the appearance of being compact architectural units, and this appearance has led some writers (Baring-Gould and Bampfylde 1909: 27) to the supposition that the long-house is therefore the outcome of some kind of communal or group organization and ownership. For the Iban, however, this supposition is very far from the truth.

Although the platform (*tanju*) and the gallery (*ruai*) of a long-house do extend without interruption throughout its entire length, an Iban long-house is, in fact, made up of a series of independently owned apartments, and

7:Gomes M-5 (ca. 1890)1911 OC6 Iban OC6

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A SEA DYAK WITH SHIELD

He is dressed in the usual waist-cloth the Dyaks wear. On his head is a headkerchief decorated with a fringe. He wears a necklace of large silver buttons. On his arms are sea-shell bracelets, and on his calves a large number of palm fibre rings. His right hand is holding the handle of his sword, the sheath of which is fastened to his belt, and his left hand is on his shield. The shield is made out of one piece of wood and coloured with a fanciful design. It is decorated with human hair from the head of dead enemies.

[FACING p. 22]

7:Gomes M-5 (ca. 1890)1911 OC6 Iban OC6

142 ties most required by dwellers in the jungle. Their movements are easy and graceful, and their carriage erect. The women are generally smaller than the men. They have neat figures, and are bright, cheerful, and good-
[145] looking in their youth, but they age very soon.

The colour of their skin varies considerably, not so much between one tribe and another as in different parts of the country. Generally speaking, those who reside in the interior of the country, on the banks of the upper reaches of the rivers, are fairer than those who live nearer the sea. This may be due to the deeper shade afforded by old jungle, and the bathing in and drinking of the water of the clear, gravel-bedded streams. Their colour varies from a dark bronze to a light brown, with a tinge of yellow. Their eyes are black or dark brown, clear and bright, with quick intelligence and good temper. Their
[276] mouths are generally ill-shapen and disfigured by excessive chewing of *sirih* and betel-nut, a habit much indulged in by both men and women.

291 In dress great alterations have resulted from foreign
177 influence, and the Dyaks who live near the towns wear the trousers and coat of civilized races, but the original style still prevails in the up-country villages.

291 Love of finery is inherent in the young Dyak. The old men are often very shabbily dressed, but the young are more particular. The ordinary male attire consists of a *sirat*, or waist-cloth, a *labong*, or headkerchief, and a *tikai buret*, or seat-mat. The waist-cloth is made of the soft inner bark of a tree, or more frequently of some red or blue cotton cloth. This is one yard wide, and from eight to eighteen feet long, and is twisted round and round their waists, and pulled up tight between the thighs, one end hanging down in front and the other behind. Sometimes

7:Gomes M-5 (ca. 1890)1911 OC6 Iban OC6

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THREE TYPICAL DYAKS

The man on the right is using a seat mat made of the skin of an animal. Sometimes these mats are made of split cane. The Dyak, in his wanderings in the jungle, has often to sit on prickly grass or sharp stones, and a seat mat is a useful part of his attire.

[facing p. 36]

7:Gomes M-5 (ca.1890)1911 OC6 Iban OC6

291 this waist-cloth is woven by the Dyak women, and then the end that hangs down in front has an elaborate pattern woven into it. Their head-dress is either a bright-coloured headkerchief, or else a small cap of woven cane, in which feathers and other ornaments are often stuck. The *tikai buret*, or seat-mat, is made either of the skin of some animal or of cane matting. Its edges are decorated with red and white cloth, and with beads or buttons.

Besides these articles of apparel the men sometimes wear a sleeveless jacket, or *klambi*. These are often woven by [286] the Dyak women, either from yarn spun from cotton of their own growing or from imported yarn of a finer texture. More often in the present day they are made of cloth of European manufacture. The patterns of the Dyak-woven *klambi* are various, but those of a particular type can only be worn by men who have succeeded in securing a human head when on the warpath. The lower edge of this jacket is ornamented with beads, shells, and buttons, and bordered by a fringe.

291 In addition to the attire already mentioned, the men 301 have sometimes a *dandong*, or shawl, which is thrown over the shoulders. The ornaments worn on the arms and legs are brass rings, which vary among the Dyaks of different districts. Armlets made from sea-shells are very much in favour among some inland tribes. 302 The young men generally wear their hair long, cut in a fringe in front, and either hanging down loose behind, or tucked into their caps.

304 Tattooing is practised by most of the Dyaks in a greater or less degree. It is confined to the male sex, who often have little patterns tattooed on the forehead, throat-apple, shoulders, or chest.

291 The dress of the women consists of a petticoat (*kain*),

7:Gomes M-5 (ca. 1890)1911 OC6 Iban OC6

drawn tightly round the waist and reaching to the knee, and in addition a *klambi*, or jacket, worn when out of doors. For ornaments the women wear finger-rings, necklaces, earrings, and bracelets, and often a girdle formed of silver coins, or of silver or brass chain. Round the stomach are wound long strips of coloured cane. Among some tribes a peculiar corset, called the *rawai*, is worn by the women. This is made of small brass rings strung closely together on hoops of rattan, which are connected with one another inside by a network of cane. A few of these hoops are made larger so as to hang loose over the hips. The series that encase the waist, stomach, and chest fit very close. This corset must be very uncomfortable, as the wearer can hardly bend the body at all, especially when it is worn right up to and covering the breasts, as it is done by some young women who can afford such extravagance.

The hair is worn long, and tied in a knot at the back of the head. Some of the women have beautiful raven black hair of great length. Wavy or curly hair is seldom seen.

The teeth are often blackened, as black teeth are considered a sign of beauty. The blackening is done by taking a piece of old cocoanut-shell or of certain woods, and holding it over a hot fire until a black resinous juice exudes. This juice is collected, and while still warm the teeth are coated with it. The front teeth are also frequently filed to a point, and this gives their face a curious dog-like appearance. Sometimes the teeth are filed concavely in front, or else the front teeth are filed down till almost level with the gums. Another curious way of treating the front teeth is to drill a hole in the middle of each tooth, and fix in it a brass stud. I was once present when this operation was in progress. The man lay down

7:Gomes M-5 (ca. 1890)1911 OC6 Iban OC6

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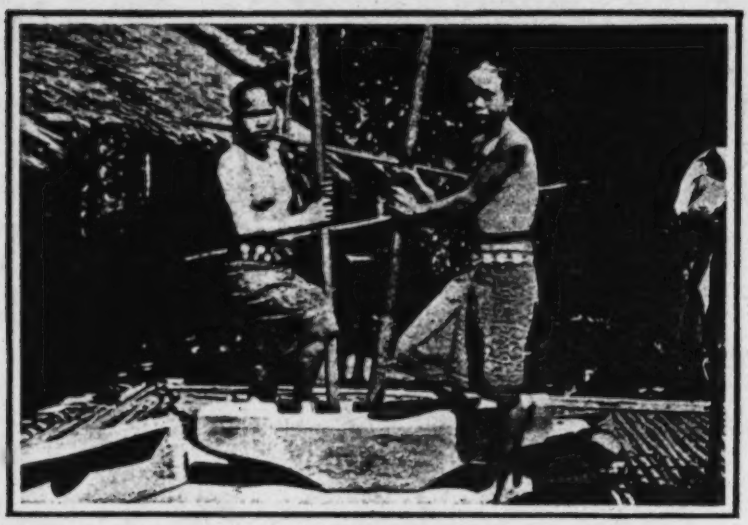

DYAK GIRLS POUNDING RICE

After the paddy has been passed through the husking mill it is pounded out in wooden mortars. Here are two girls at work. Each has her right foot in the upper part of the mortar to kick back any grains of paddy that may be likely to fall out.

A HUSKING MILL (*Kisar*)

After the paddy is dried and before it is pounded, it is generally passed through a husking mill made in two parts—the lower half having a stem in the middle which fits into the upper part, which is hollow. The paddy is put into a cavity in the upper half, and a man or woman seizes the handles and works the upper half to the right and left alternately. The paddy drips through on to the mat on which this husking mill is placed.

DRYING PADDY

Before it is possible to rid the paddy of its husk and convert it into rice, it has to be dried in the sun. Here a woman is seen spreading out the paddy on a mat with her hands. She is on the outside veranda of the Dyak house (*ranjo*). The long pole over her head is used by her to drive away the fowls and birds who may come to eat the paddy put out to dry.

[facing p. 46]

7:Gomes M-5 (ca. 1890)1911 OC6 Iban OC6

[facing p. 50]

SEA DYAKS MAKING A CANOE

Sea Dyaks at work on a small dug-out. The tree has been felled, and the trunk is being cut into shape and hollowed out. The Dyaks are using the native axe or *Ilieng*, and the picture shows their method of handling it.

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7:Gomes M-5 (ca. 1890)1911 OC6 Iban OC6

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GIRLS WEAVING

They are seated on mats on the floor. The threads are fastened to a frame, which is kept in position by a large hand that is secured to the girl's waist, and she can tighten or loosen the threads by leaning back or bending forward. The threads of the weft are put through one by one from right to left and left to right.

[Facing p. 52]

7:Gomes M-5 (ca. 1890)1911 OC6 Iban OC6

[fishing p.56]

DYAKS RETURNING FROM TUBA-FISHING

In *tuba* fishing the juice of the *tuba* root is put in the water to poison it, and cause the fish to rise stupefied to the surface, when they are secured either with spears or by hand-nets. In the picture the men are seen taking up to the Dyak house their fish spears and the fish they have succeeded in taking. The boats, which are dug-outs, each made out of the trunk of a tree, are being made fast to the bank. The large hats the men are wearing as a protection from the sun are made of palm leaves. On the right of the picture is seen a three-pronged fish-spear.

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7:Gomes M-5 (ca. 1890)1911 OC6 Iban OC6

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A DYAK CEMETERY BY THE RIVER-SIDE

This shows the carved wooden erections put over some of the graves. The trees are generally left standing in a Dyak cemetery, and a little distance from the river bank it is covered with jungle growth.

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A DYAK DANCING THE WAR DANCE

He is imitating the action of a man creeping through the jungle, sword in hand, to attack the enemy. The man on the right is playing a Dyak musical instrument called the *Engkrurai*.

[facing p. 136]

7:Gomes M-5 (ca. 1890)1911 OC6 Iban OC6

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A Dyak Woman in Everyday Costume

She is wearing a necklace of small silver current coins, fastened together with silver links. The bangles are hollow, and of silver or brass, made separately, but worn several together on each wrist. The two favourite colours for petticoats are blue and red. The red petticoat, as in the picture, has often a design in white worked or woven into it.

[FACING p.268]

7:Gomes M-5 (ca. 1890)1911 OC6 Iban OC6

[Facing p. 290]

A Dyak Girl

Seated on a mat and folding up a petticoat before putting it away. The girls are very careful of their clothing and are often very vain, but when they are married they frequently become very untidy. A woman's wardrobe is not extensive. It consists of two petticoats and one jacket as a general rule.

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Scraping Palm Leaves for Fibre

With this the women tie up the threads they weave, so that when they are dipped in any particular dye the parts which are tied may not be affected by the dye. It is by this means that the different patterns in Dyak cloth are obtained.

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11:Freeman E-5 (1949-1951)1957 OC6 Iban OC6

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(1) The gathering of the clay (Iban pot-making).

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(2) Clay being laid out in the sun (Iban pot-making)

[p. 156a]

11:Freeman E-5 (1949-1951)1957 OC6 Iban OC6

323 the community should observe, for a period, prohibitions on
782 certain mundane activities. The transgression of any of these
784 prohibitions usually results in the guilty person being fined by the
688 mourning kinsmen, and—so say the Iban—in his affairs being blighted by a supernatural curse. Runin's prayer was aimed at forestalling such troubles. Addressing the world at large (and especially the spirit world) she voiced her assurance that she had taken into account all of those recently dead, even though she may have not heard of their deaths; and similarly, she mentioned all those who might die the next day or the day after.[14] Thus, in the words of her prayer, she was placating the spirits of the dead, so ensuring that they would not put a curse on the firing of her pots turning the event into a fiasco.

323 Her prayer uttered, Runin at once set about attending to the
[291] fire. More kindling was thrust in at the base, and then fanned vigorously with a large circular sun hat (*tanggi*). It was evident that Runin placed great importance on getting the fire burning evenly and well. Next she began to build up firewood around and over the pots until they were covered to a thickness of four or five inches.

After about ten minutes the fire had taken and was burning firecely, tongues of flame a yard or so in height leaping up at the sides. Several of these flames played on the outer edges of the pots before they had become properly heated from beneath. At once portions of the lips of these pots began to break away with quite loud detonations. At this Runin made no comment, but she looked clearly disturbed.

Thenceforward, she paid no further attention to the fire, turning instead to the mixing of the tempering fluid in which the fired
[824] pots were, later, to be dipped. The raw material from which this fluid was made was the bark of a tree known to the Iban as *samak*. The bark had been collected the day previously by Repai, a kinsman of Runin, at the same time as he had been cutting bark for his wife.[15] Repai had delivered the bark to Runin in strips measuring about 15 ins. × 4 ins. These Runin had cut into chips and pounded in an ordinary *padi* mortar (*lesong*) about an hour before the firing began. While the fire blazed Runin set about making an infusion from the pounded bark. About a gallon of river water was poured into a large iron cooking dish (*kali*) of

12: Haddon & Start E-4 (no date) 1936 OC6 Iban OC6

Frontispiece

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Group of Iban women, pp. 3, 4.

[Frontispiece]

are known as Batang Lupar, Saribas, Rejang, Kanowit, etc. The physical characters of the various ethnic groups in Sarawak are described by Haddon in an Appendix to Hose and McDougall's monograph. 101 619

IBAN COSTUME

The Iban are extremely fond of dress and both men and women wear many ornaments as well. 291

The usual male attire consists of:

Sirat (*chawat* of the Malays), or waist cloth, usually of red or blue cotton cloth, sometimes having an embroidered end made of native material.

Labong, a headkerchief, which is usually richly decorated; or a cap of woven cane, both of which are often ornamented with feathers.

Takai buriet or seat mat, usually made of skin or cane matting, the edge being finished off with cloth and beads or buttons.

Kalambi or jacket, with or without sleeves, used chiefly on ceremonial occasions.

Dangdong or shawl is also sometimes worn over the shoulder.

The women wear:

Bidang or petticoat, reaching to the knees and usually made of home-made cloth elaborately decorated with warp-dyed patterns.

Bedong or woman's waist band or girdle.

Rawai or corset, made of a series of split ratan rings upon which brass rings are threaded. The ratan rings fit so tightly that it is difficult to bend the body.

Kalambi or jacket, sometimes rather longer than the men's but of the same shape.

Girdles of coins, silver and brass chain or strips of coloured cane are also worn round the waist, and *tanggok* or necklaces of beads, cane and silver coins round the throat. Heavy earrings in the distended lobe of the ears are worn by most tribes. 301

Some idea of the women's costume can be gathered from the frontispiece, which shows a group of four women and two children. The women are wearing skirts, *bidang*, with patterns; spider designs can be seen on the 291

291 second from the left and shrews and spiders on the second from the right, which also shows clearly the way the garment is folded when worn. Three figures show the corset, *rawai*, and the girdles of coins round the waist outside it. Two women have bead necklaces and the two on the right wide bead collars. The jackets of the two women to the left are of imported material, but the central figure wears a *kalambi* of striped native cloth somewhat similar to Z. 2342, which is described briefly on p. 37. The tall girl, second from the right, is a Kayan who lives with an Iban family.

[309]

THE PRODUCTION OF CLOTH

The garments worn by the Iban, whether petticoats, coats, loin-cloths or shawls, as well as their blankets, are made either from bark-cloth or hand-woven cotton stuff; the latter material is usually of native manufacture.

BARK-CLOTH

287 The bark-cloth is the cheaper material, and garments made from it are therefore worn when working in the jungle and by those who cannot afford woven cloth. "The old blankets, curtains, waist-cloths, and coats of the Dyaks were made of bark-cloth" (*S.D.D.* p. 133).

287 314 There are several sources from which suitable material for making bark-cloth can be obtained: the *pedalai*, bread-fruit tree (*Artocarpus* sp.), and a tree of a similar type called *tekalong* provide bark which can be wrought into loin-cloths, strips of about 10 ft. in length being obtainable when the trees are mature (*Sarawak Gazette*, 1894, p. 146).

The Kayans use the inner bark of a tree which they call *tajam*, but is called *ipoh* by the Iban. According to the Catalogue of the Brooke Low Collection this appears to be identical with the *upas* tree of Java, *Antiaris toxicaria*. In the *S.D.D.* (p. 60) it is stated that "there is another species of tree called *ipoh*, a sort of bread-fruit, the bark of which is made into white blankets, *pua*". Hose and McDougall (1, p. 220) state that cloth "is made from the bark of trees of several species (principally the *Kumut*, the *ipoh*, and the wild fig)".

287 The process of making the bark-cloth is to peel off the bark in broad strips, soak it well in water and then hammer it out with a heavy wooden

386 usual fee being a small jar (*tepayan*), a sacred stone (*plaga*), a small bell
463 (*grunong*), and a brass ring (*chinchin temòaga*). Some of the 'professors' affirm that they learnt the art from the fairy goddesses such as Kumang, Indai, Abang, etc. With some Sea-Dayak tribes they even go so far as to make offerings to these goddesses, asking their help in the difficult work of dyeing the cotton red (*ngar*, or *nakar ubong*). The woman who undertakes this particular kind of dyeing, first of all gets a piece of steel which she bites in order to strengthen her soul. This steel is called *kris samengat*. They make a great deal of fuss over the work of laying out the thread on the platform (*tanjeu*) and the business of it is called the *kayau indu*, or 'warpath of the women'."

"The Sea-Dayak bachelor in order to win the affections of a maiden must needs get a head first, similarly the Sea-Dayak maiden to win the affection of a bachelor must needs be accomplished in the arts of weaving and dyeing."

In the following pages we describe the specimens in the Cambridge Museum in the order of *kalambi*, *bidang*, *sirat*, *bedong*, *dangdong* and *pua*.

KALAMBI, JACKETS

● 291 The *kalambi* or jacket is a garment worn by both men and women; the
286 former, however, only use it on full-dress occasions, when a *dangdong* or shawl is also thrown over the shoulder. The women do not usually wear a jacket when in the house, the *bidang*, or petticoat, and *rawai*, or corset of brass rings threaded on ratan circles, alone being worn; they don the jacket for out-door pursuits or for special occasions.

The men's and women's jackets are alike in material and shape except that the women's is usually a little longer. The jackets are made of bark-cloth or woven fabric; the latter type only is here described.

291 The method of weaving is exactly the same as for the *bidang*, and similar
286 coloured stripes are introduced at the edges of the cloths, which average just under 20 in. (50·8 cm.) in width. It takes a whole length of cloth for
X 531 a jacket with sleeves. If the garment is to be decorated with a badge at the back, this is worked on the warp threads before the cloth is removed from the loom (pl. xxvii).

Two methods are used in the production of these badges, either a form of needle-weaving or weft-mosaic, or the brocade method. Both have been described under the heading "The making of patterns other than warp-dyed" (pp. 15, 17). 291 286 531

Pure embroidery is used as a means of producing pattern on some of the woven cloth jackets in addition to the badges. The elaborate designs frequently worked on bark-cloth jackets serve, however, not only for decoration but also as a strengthening device, as the stitching is mostly done in a horizontal direction in order to make the longitudinal fibres firmer (fig. 1). 291 531

According to Mr Leggatt (Notes) "the dresses of the Sarebas are the best embroidered as they are the cleverest in all needlework".

Further ornamentation is also provided by the use of fabrics of foreign manufacture; English red and yellow flannel, Chinese printed cotton and silks, are used as narrow edgings to the badges and for making neat the cut edges at the front of the coat and the neck. Gold thread obtained from the Chinese and Malays is sometimes introduced in the working of the badge and also to a very slight extent in the pure embroidery; Brooke Low (Catalogue) says that "the *kalambi subang* manufactured by the Sarebas is of a finer and closer texture than any other and therefore more expensive. The thread of which it is wrought is procured from the Malays and is of a red colour". 291 531 439

Fringes of beads or hawk-bells occur on some of the finer examples and a short twisted fringe of warp ends is left on others, whilst small tassels of coloured threads are occasionally used to make a neat finish to a side seam (fig. 18, *a*). 291 531

Most of the *kalambi* are, however, made of cloth with a warp-dyed pattern, and those decorated with good omen birds are greatly prized and are worn on such important occasions as the beginning of house-building, and the first planting of paddy, whilst others with sacred birds have value as a cure for sickness. It is probable that these special uses of *kalambi* for ceremonial purposes have led to their more elaborate treatment. [755]

The Sakarang wear jackets without sleeves and some tribes have a striped cloth, that is, there are narrow warp-dyed stripes alternating with plain colour stripes across the whole width; see cloths Z. 2341, Z. 2342.

7:Gomes M-5 (ca. 1890)1911 OC6 Iban OC6

[facing p. 102]

DYAK CHILDREN

The figure on the right is a boy, the other five are girls. The children are fond of games, and are generally expert swimmers, but they have to make themselves useful, and help their parents very early in life. Dyak parents are very kind to their children, who, as a rule, return the affection, and do as they are told from a desire to please them.

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7:Gomes M-5 (ca. 1890)1911 OC6 Iban OC6

[Facing p. 114]

A DYAK YOUTH

He has on an elaborate headkerchief decorated with tassels and small pieces of silver or brass. These headkerchiefs are sometimes woven by the Dyaks themselves, or else they make the border of bright-coloured threads and sew it round a piece of red or blue imported cloth.

A DYAK LAD

On his head he has a headkerchief which consists of a square piece of cloth tied in such a manner as to form a cap.

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7:Gomes M-5 (ca. 1890)1911 OC6 Iban OC6

[Facing p. 128]

DYAK GIRL SPINNING

She is seated on a mat, in a characteristic attitude, and is making yarn out of the cotton, using a primitive spinning-wheel.

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7:Gomes M-5 (ca. 1890)1911 OC6 Iban OC6

A Dyak Bride

She wears a silver filigree comb in her hair and a necklace of brass or silver buttons. Round her body is the brass corset worn by the women and three belts of silver coins. She has bangles on her wrists and earrings in her ears. Her jacket is slung over her right shoulder.

A Dyak Girl

Round her body is the brass corset the women wear, and she has a necklace made of large buttons of brass or silver.

Facing p.130

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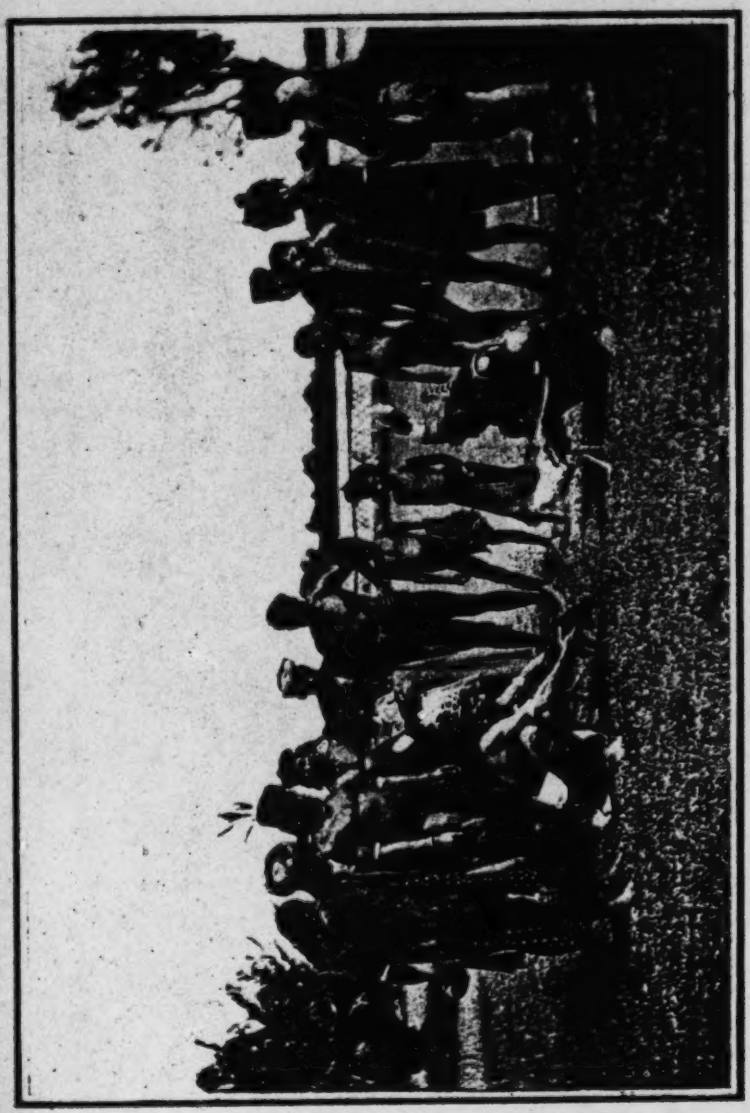
7:Gomes M-5 (ca. 1890)1911 OC6 Iban OC6



COCK FIGHTING

Sometimes at feasts cock fighting takes place in the veranda of the Dyak house. At other times it takes place on the ground outside. Here two Dyaks are matching their cocks against each other, while a crowd of men and boys stand around.

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[facing p. 222]

12: Haddon & Start E-4 (no date) 1936 OC6 Iban OC6

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[E.247]

No. of cloth	Width	No. of warp ends to inch	Analysis of weaving in *kalambi*			Notes
			Description of warp	No. of weft picks to inch	Description of weft	
35.903	1 ft. 7½ in. (50·1 cm.)	88–132 ends (44 groups) 132–176 ends (44 groups)	Paired and threes in pattern stripes. Fours and threes in self-coloured stripes	20–22	Brown Three parallel threads	Pattern stripes have had three dyeings: light brown, deep red brown, indigo on red brown (vandyke)
35.904	1 ft. 7½ in. (48·8 cm.)	204 ends (68 groups)	Triple warps throughout Very fine yarn	26–30	Two spools used alternately and threads cross at edge of cloth. Three, occasionally four, parallel threads of finely spun yarn, red in colour	One of the most finely woven cloths in the collection. The warp and weft are both red except in the border stripes, when yellow and dark blue warps are used. The patterns are embroidered with a double thread of white or three threads of black
35.905	1 ft. 7½ in. (48·8 cm.)	112 ends (56 groups)	Paired, odd groups of threes in coloured stripes	22	Three parallel threads. Greyish white	Colour dull, a greyish white pattern on dull vandyke ground. The cloth is striped right across its width, pattern stripes being divided by groups of red, white and brown stripes
35.906	1 ft. 5½ in. (44·4 cm.)	272 ends (68 groups)	Four parallel ends in each group	22	Red. Four, six or eight threads with a slight twist which appears as parallel in the shed	A finely woven red cloth with solid white, black and yellow stripes at the sides. The patterns are embroidered in dark blue and white with a twisted or doubled thread for the white and a fourfold untwisted thread for the blue stitches
35.907	1 ft. 7½ in. (49·5 cm.)	112 ends (56 groups) 192 ends (64 groups)	Paired in the pattern stripes Threes in self-colour stripes	20	Brown. Three parallel threads	Pattern stripes of white with brown ground alternate with composite stripes of black, white, red and yellow, and extend right across the width of the cloth. Faded

12: Haddon & Start E-4 (no date) 1936 OC6 Iban OC6

The cloth woven for jackets is nearly always firmer to feel and finer in texture than that made for the *bidang*. This is mostly due to the fact that the finer warps are used and the number may vary from about 100 ends an inch in a cloth of moderate quality to 272 in a finely woven one, and the ends

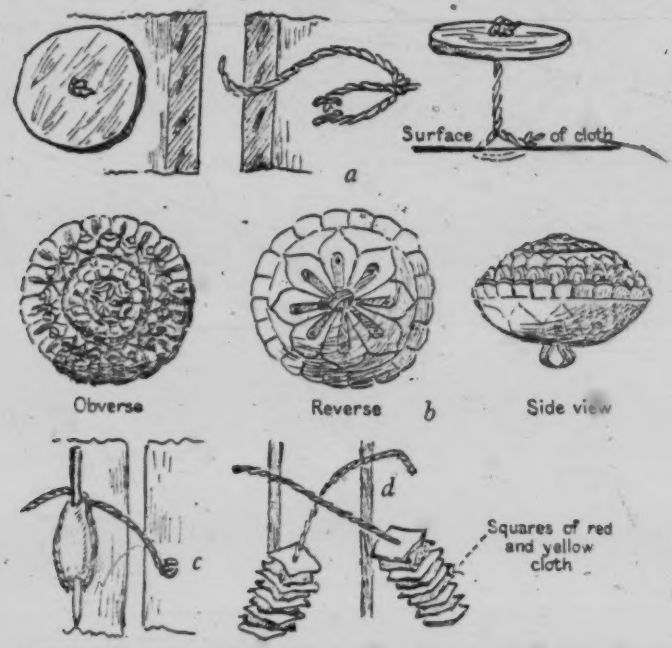

Fig. 11. Methods of fastening *kalambi*: *a*, wooden button and string, 35.911; *b*, silver-gilt button of local workmanship, 35.910; *c*, thorn and string, Sakaran Iban (Ling Roth, II, p. 32); *d*, two strings with ornamented ends, British Museum (No. +7010).

are usually paired or sister warps. Just as in the *bidang* cloths, where solid colour stripes appear it is usual to find more ends to the inch than in the main body of the cloth.

The weft is often threefold, occasionally four, and the strands are wound tape-wise on the spool. (The Javanese use a similar method of making a wide weft, as can be seen in the spool thread in a Javanese loom belonging to the Manchester College of Technology.) An average number of picks to the

291 inch is 22. The colour of the weft is often red and sometimes a dull white,
286 instead of the almost universal brown used in the other cloths.

In addition to the native yarns, some doubled white yarns, either imported or mechanically spun, are used, especially for embroidery and badges. The
[439] gold and silver thread used in the latter, and less frequently as an embroidery thread, is obtained from the Malays or Chinese.

294 The method of cutting out and making up a *kalambi* with sleeves is given in detail for cloth 35.903. All jackets are made up in the same way, except that there may be a variation in the amount of slope cut away for the sleeve.

In making up, a lacing stitch or some type of open stitch is usually used for the sides (fig. 12, *d*), but a counter hem is the method adopted for joining the sleeve seams, which are always left open for an inch or two under the armpit.

The fastening of the coat may be a piece of fine twine attached to one side and wrapped round a thorn stuck through the cloth on the other edge (fig. 11, *c*), or it may be a button, varying from a beautifully worked silver-gilt one of native manufacture (fig. 11, *b*) to an European shirt button or a crudely shaped piece of wood (fig. 11, *a*).

Occasionally ties are made on either side of a coat consisting of twine. The ends of the ties may have a number of small squares of red and yellow flannel threaded on them (fig. 11, *d*).

The *kalambi* are described in the following order:

35.903	35.909	Z.2342	35.901
35.907	35.902	Z.2341	35.911
35.905	35.919	35.904	
35.910	35.908	35.906	

THE IBAN JACKET

291 35.903. A Saribas jacket. This cloth is a fine specimen of a *kalambi burong*,
286 "bird coat", with a badge worked in at the bottom of the back in the tapestry method, i.e. needle-woven upon the stretched warp.

Length of cloth before folding or sleeves cut from it about 6 ft. (182·9 cm.); width varies from 19½ in. (49·5 cm.) to 20 in. (50·8 cm.).

294 The manner in which the coat has been cut from the length of cloth is best seen in fig. 12, *a*, which shows how the front width is divided for the

give a solid colour effect the cloth is of a still closer texture, because the warps are grouped mainly in fours instead of threes and there are as many as 176 ends to the inch; this greater closeness of texture enhances the colour effect.

The patterned stripes have white motives (undyed yarn) on a reddish brown background, the dye being obtained by the Saribas women from mangrove bark; parts of the designs are emphasized by deep sepia brown obtained by a second dyeing of indigo over the red-brown.

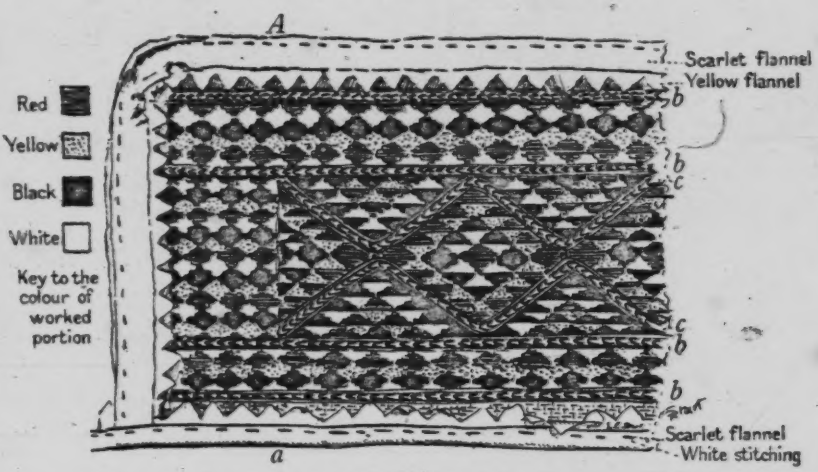

Fig. 14. Badge at the bottom of the back of *kalambi* 35.903, worked in the tapestry manner on the bare warp.

A portion of the repeat on the back and sleeves is shown in fig. 13, which represents: *d*, *daun wi*, "a ratan leaf" (pl. XXII, *m*); *e*, *sayap burong lelayang*, "the wing of a swallow or swift"; *f*, *sugu*, "a comb" (pl. XXIV, *g*); and *g*, *lachau*, "a green grass lizard" (pl. XII, *f*). At the bottom of the front of the coat is *burong buah bangkit*, "bird with the *bangkit* fruit" (pl. VIII, *a*).

Stripes of various colours are termed *ara* and these particular ones are labelled *ara ular kendawang*; *kendawang* is "a snake, *Cylindrophis rufus*, with a red head and a red tip to its tail, body striped black, white and red. It is said by the natives to be poisonous" (*S.D.D.*). Two broader stripes are

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abelled *ara belambang*. *Ara* also signifies "spread out", which is probably its meaning in this case; *belambang* means "irregularly", which adequately describes these two stripes, as some of the colours are broader than others.

The interesting badge (fig. 14) at the back of the jacket has been produced by needle-weaving and has been worked in upon the bare warp while that was still on the loom. The colours used, red, white, yellow and black, are indicated in the figure, which shows one-half of the badge.

The warp threads are grouped into bundles of about fifteen by the first two rows worked. The long parallel horizontal and curved lines of the design at *b* and *c* (fig. 14) are worked first, the effect of slanting stitches and an alternating black and white plait being obtained as shown in fig. 15 where the black thread shows the first row of stitches and the white the returning row. It will be noted that the threads cross one another alternately with the warp secured between them, as in twining, so that the wrong side is just the reverse in colour to the right. Four rows of stitches would be necessary to produce the effect of the plait in the figure, or two needles might be kept working alternately and the result produced by two rows of work. After the completion of these long lines the intervening spaces are filled in with lozenges and triangles in red, yellow, white and black, each motive being completed before the next is begun. The stitch used is like darning; an enlarged detail is shown in fig. 8.

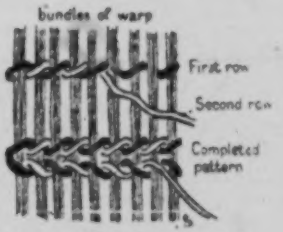

Fig. 15. Plaited or twined lines in badge, 35.903.

As will be seen from fig. 14, the pattern is one which, consisting chiefly of slanting lines, does not exhibit the usual weakness of the tapestry or needle-weaving method, i.e. gaps such as are produced when vertical lines are worked, except at the ends where variation of the central design has caused a long open slit *A–a*. This has been joined afterwards by string, the lacing stitch used for the side seams being the method adopted. The whole badge is surrounded by a vandyked border of yellow woollen material, *keselat lilit* ("*lilit*, gold embroidery on the edge of a handkerchief", *S.D.D.*), edged with scarlet flannel, secured by coarse white

running stitches. The yellow and scarlet flannels are foreign and probably of British origin.

The central pattern of the badge (fig. 14) is labelled *pantak lelambak*, "wasp and flower pattern" (pl. XVII, *f*); it is enclosed within two zigzags called *lelingkok kelalin lantai*, zigzag interlaced bamboo. The black and white border within the triangles caused by the zigzag are labelled *dabong betangkal*, serrated notch (pl. XXIV, *l*). The upper border is labelled *lalat tisik tengiling* (which appears to signify a fly scraped off the scales of a *Manis javanicus*) and the lower border, *dabong telik leka labu*, serrated seed of gourd, *Cucurbita lagenaria*; perhaps the hour-glass-like red and black lozenges represent a constricted gourd, but *leka* signifies seed, grain.

A *kalambi burong* is considered one of the best kinds of jackets to possess, as many of the patterns symbolize ritual birds, possessing some special protective virtue.

The Iban are great observers of omens, always consulting them before beginning any important undertaking. The bird omens are the most numerous and important; the omen birds are supposed to be the sons-in-law of Singalang Burong and come from the spirit world as his messengers.

35.907 A *kalambi burong*. A striped cloth jacket similar in construction to the bird coat previously described has an analogous badge at the back, but the dyed designs and details of decoration are different; they consist mainly of birds.

The warp is grouped in threes in the solid colour stripes and in pairs in the patterned ones and averages 148 ends to the inch. The weft is brown and three threads are carried across each pick, tape-wise or parallel, having been previously wound on the spool in that manner.

The coat is bound round the edge with red flannel as in the previous cloth, but it and the badge at the back have also a bordering of a narrow white braid of European make which is usually used in Europe as a foundation for crochet work. Probably the chief value of the braid lies in its zigzag pattern, which was produced in the previous coat by snipping pieces out of the edge of the woollen material; further ornamentation has been added to the braid in the shape of a little looped stitch or picot (fig. 16, *b*), worked either in green or indigo.

A charming addition to the red border at the back is a hand-made braid

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with a gold weft and a small scalloped edge. The braid is composed of purple, yellow and white warps brightened by the faint glisten here and there of the weft. In weaving the braid, three spools, each carrying two gold threads, appear to have been used in rotation, the thread being interlaced at the edge (much in the same way as baskets are often finished) and forming tiny

Fig. 16. Details of badge braids of *kalambi*, 35.907.

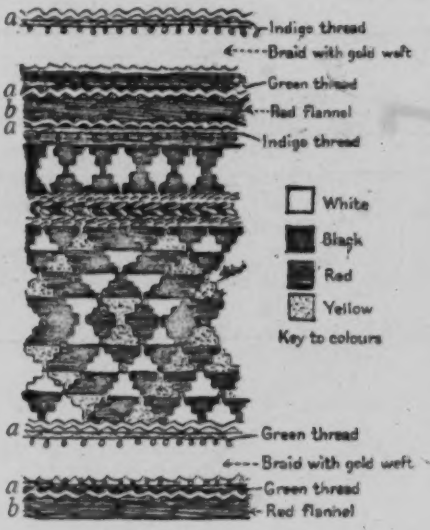

Fig. 17. One repeat of the pattern worked on a badge of a *kalambi*, 35.907, by the tapestry method, with added borders.

scallops. The method of interlacing is drawn in fig. 16, *a*. The native name for the braid, *lilit*, signifies "gold embroidery" or "to warp or bind with gold thread".

A single motive of the pattern in the badge is drawn in fig. 17; there are 11 complete and one partial repeat of this in the width of 17⅛ in. (43·5 cm.). The design is executed in red, white, yellow and black in the needle-weaving or tapestry method; the similarity of the pattern to that in cloth 35.903 is noticeable and possibly indicates that the original owner was a Saribas Iban. At the top of the badge is a band of white stepped lozenges on

a black ground; it is labelled *dabong igi labu*, serrated seed of gourd. The black and white band between this and the broad band is labelled *kelalin lantai*, interlaced bamboo. The double zigzag of the broad band is called *dabong lelingkok*, the triangles are labelled *lalat dabong lancham*, fly, serration or dog-tooth, pointed; the central designs are termed *lalat ketupang lensat*, (*lalat*, fly, *ketup*, to bite; *lensat* is a "fruit-bearing tree, *Lansium domesticum*", *S.D.D.*); this appears to mean a fly biting *lensat* (fruit).

The patterned stripes measure ¾ in. (1·9 cm.) and ¼ in. (6 mm.) alternately and are divided by compound solid colour stripes in the order: red, orange, indigo, white, indigo, orange, red, each ⅛ in. (1·6 cm.) wide and intended as a whole to represent the black, white and red bands of the *kendawang* snake (*Cylindrophis rufus*). The composite stripe is labelled *ara surik kendawang*, see p. 29. Amongst the birds figured in the broader patterned stripes are: *burong betampong*, "a ceremonial bird which cures sickness" (pl. IX, *d*); *burong bekarong*, "a hidden bird", similar to examples on pl. VII, *i–k* and *burong sawang prut*, "a bird with a hole in its breast" (pl. VII, *g*). All the narrower patterned stripes contain *daun wi*, "ratan leaves", very similar to those drawn on pl. XXII, *l*, *m*.

About two-thirds down the front of the jacket there occurs in all the patterned stripes a very interesting blurred design, which consists of a brown blank space with an indistinct lighter smear in its middle; above and below is an irregular wavy line (fig. 18, *b*). This is labelled *kengkang lang*, the striped kite: "the kite, according to Dyak belief the bodily shape and form of *Singalang Burong*, the Bird King, who, upon one occasion only, appeared on earth in human form but has since adopted the shape and form of the kite" (*S.D.D.*). The formless mass may be a naïve way of acknowledging the impossibility of depicting the Supreme Being.

35.905. A bird coat. This old "*Baju burong*" probably belonged to a Skarang Dayak, as some of the names of designs used are given in that dialect; and it is not so well finished as other examples of similar coats, having no badge or flannel binding. The side seams are joined by a form of blanket-stitch worked from side to side (fig. 18, *a*), which when closely done looks like the backbone of a fish and so is called *jayit tulang ikan*. Three little tassels, *kelapong leka*, made of the coloured warp thread finish off the end of the seam (fig. 18, *a*).

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The warp is paired, with odd groups of three in the coloured stripes, and there are 112 ends to the inch; the weft is threefold and there are 22 picks to the inch.

The patterned stripes have a brown background with white motives and these are separated from one another by grouped warp stripes of red, yellow, brown and white, which vary in width from $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (9 mm.) to $\frac{11}{16}$ in. (1·7 cm.).

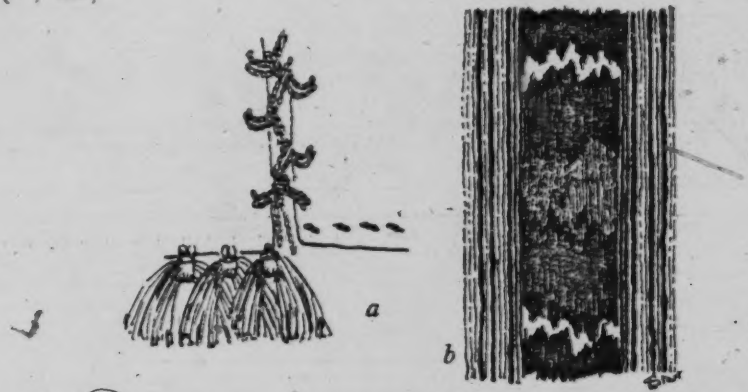

Fig. 18. Details of bird *kalamči*: *a*, tassels at end of seam, 35.905; *b*, *kengkang lang*, 35.907.

The narrower of the vertical patterned stripes have repeats of *anak lachau*, young grass lizard, similar to pl. XII, *a*; they are separated by variously coloured groups of, or compound, stripes, *surik rinik*, from the stripes decorated with birds, such as *burong bekarong*, "covered or concealed birds" (pl. VII, *f*); *burong enchoyok* (*tinggang ujan*)—the words in brackets indicate that this *burong* is associated with falling rain (pl. IX, *h*, and *g* seems to be a variant); *burong buah bangkit*, "bird on *bangkit* fruit". The designs on the front of the jacket also include *kengkang lang*, "striped kite". At the bottom of the back of the jacket are designs labelled *lancham pemuchok tubu*, "pointed bamboo shoots", pl. XVIII, *g*.

In giving names to the patterns on this cloth the owner described it as *satu macham bekarong samoa*, "a good kind to cover anyone", and also said *enggo lachau samoa*, "to wear a lizard all or everyone". The grass lizard is one of the lower rank of omen animals.

35.910. This is a well-made typical *kalambi* bound at the top with a narrow and at the sides with a broad band of red flannel. The lower edge has a strip of red and of yellow flannel and about 2½ in. above this are similar strips. At the collar is the silver-gilt button shown in fig. 11, *b*. 291 531X

Among other devices in the broader vertical stripes are *burong burak*, "bird with a white breast"; *burong bekinkiang*, crooked *burong*; *burong pemiyaiarbong*; *burong trugu* and *langkiang*, a lizard with a long reflexed tail. The narrower stripes contain lizards, ratan, and other devices usually found in such stripes. A prominent feature in this and the next jacket is the occurrence of *kengkang lang* in the centre of all the vertical stripes on the front of the jacket. The badge is illustrated in fig. 9.

35.909. This is a new *kalambi* which apparently has never been worn, and there are no labels attached to the patterns. Stripes composed of two black lines edged with white in a rather broad red band separate the broad stripes containing birds from slightly narrower stripes in which are thick white zigzags with black spots. On the lower border of the back is a band or badge of chequer-work: yellow bands slope in one direction and red bands in the other; where they cross each other is a black square, the interspaces being white. Above this is a horizontal row of coarse double twining in brown and white.

35.902. On the body of this man's jacket there are self stripes in the colours of the *kendawang* snake, dividing patterned ones filled with birds. At the bottom of the back two rows of coarse double twining in black and white, about an inch apart, are outlined by and enclose a sparsely worked lozenge pattern done in gold thread.

35.919. This is a piece of cloth 8 ft. long made for a *kalambi* with sleeves, just as it is when taken off the loom. The photograph (pl. xxvii) shows only one-quarter of the length, but it will be seen that the length is continuous as the warp ends joining the part where the badge has been worked in and those of the other end of the cloth are uncut. Fragments of a thin strip of bamboo, used as a laze rod (fig. 4), still remain near the beginning of the pattern and can be seen near the bottom of the photograph. Below the needle-woven badge are two coarse threads which have been used to group the warps for the stitchery. The cloth has self-coloured stripes of white, scarlet and yellow alternating with patterned ones. 291 531X 286

12: Haddon & Start E-4 (no date) 1936 - OC6 Iban OC6

291 X531 The part of the cloth photographed (pl. XXVII) shows the variously coloured stripes, *surik ular kendawang*, which separate the alternate rows of *burong burak prut*, "bird with white breast" (cf. pl. VII, *e*), and *lachau*, "green grass lizard" (cf. pl. XII, *a*); the *lachau* are found only at the ends of the cloth, throughout the greater part of its length being replaced by *daun tui*, "leaf of ratan" (cf. pl. XXII, *k*). At the extreme ends of the cloth below the *burong* are designs which on other cloths are labelled *pemuchok tubu*, "bamboo shoots", perhaps with the head of a locust on the top of the shoot. At the top and bottom of the badge is a very narrow border of two yellow stripes separated by black and white spots; this is called *kelalin lantai*, interlaced cane; two similar horizontal borders separate the main patterns of the badge. The upper and lower patterns consist of a series of white and black triangles separated by a row of red and yellow triangles; they are labelled *lalat dabong igi labu*, fly, serrated or dog-tooth, seed, gourd. On other parts of the cloth are *burong lelayang*, swallow, *burong mansau prut*, "bird with red breast", *daun entibap*, "(isolated) leaf of the *arenga* palm" (see pl. XXII, *a–e*). The *kengkang lang* (p. 33) is especially prominent. The broad central pattern has two zigzags, *lelingkok kelalin lantai*, zigzag interlaced cane, which divide the band into triangles and lozenges, which are filled up with white, yellow, red and black triangles, all the last having a gold thread centre; within the lozenges are black designs enclosing red and yellow triangles; these are labelled *buah belimbing*.

291 286 - 35.908. This is a jacket of somewhat unusual colour; its edges are bound with red flannel, and there is no badge on the back. Width, 21 in. (53·4 cm.); length from shoulder to hem, 22 in. (55·9 cm.).

The warps are paired throughout the cloth except in the pale brown and yellow self stripes, where a coarser yarn has been used in the former, the latter being crowded together. There are 60 groups to the inch, i.e. 120 ends and 24 picks of weft to the inch.

291 X531 The background is dark red in tone with patterns in light brown with darker markings of red and dark brown. There are two narrow patterned borders at the sides of the cloth, each divided from the other and from the central pattern by coloured warp stripes representing the snake, in red, yellow, black and pale brown, repeated twice.

On the front of the jacket are *aji*, shrews, and the back is covered with

remaung, "tiger-cats"; all are typical conventions of these animals. Between the spaces of the tiger-cats are various *burong*; *anak lachau*, "young grass lizards" (pl. XII, *e*); *engkatak*, "frog" (pl. XIII, *d*); and *igi bras*, "grains of uncooked rice".

The narrow vertical bands, which are transverse on the sleeves, contain various birds, including *kengkang lang*, "the striped kite"; *burong belingkian*, "argus pheasant", with its long tail feathers (pl. IX, *e*); *burong besugu*, "bird with comb" (pl. VII, *p*); *burong entepa*, "bird with outstretched wings" (pl. VII, *q*, *r*); *burong buah bangkit*, "bird on *bangkit* fruit" (pl. VIII, *c*), but this is very like a form of *burong entepa* and there is no indication of the conventional lozenge-shaped *bangkit* fruit.

It looks as if the cloth from which the back and sleeves of this coat has been made was originally woven for a *bidang*, but the front portions have characteristic *kengkang lang* in the two *burong* stripes and a very broad one between shrew designs which are covered on the outside with a band of red flannel. The only definite example of this type of *kengkang lang* on any *bidang* in our collection is 35.884.

Z.2342. This jacket is called "*kalambi ara*, striped coat", which is a very good description. There are broad white and dull indigo stripes at the sides and centre of the back and the space between has three narrow horizontally striped black and white bands with crimson stripes on each side of them, alternating with composite ones of all three colours about 1 in. in width. A very coarse needle-woven or weft-mosaic pattern of vertical lozenges in black, white, red and yellow decorates the hem at the back and this is finished off by a row of small tassels, consisting of bunches of cotton ends tied in with the bunched ends of the warps.

Z.2341. A woman's reddish brown coat with narrow simple and composite stripes of purple and white, having broader white purple and black stripes at the sides. There is a rather coarse pattern of triangles darned in white at the bottom of the back, edged with a row of double twining in black and white. The end of the back of the jacket is finished off with small cotton tassels in red, yellow, black and white, tied on by bunches of warp ends.

35.904. The red cloth of which this *kalambi* is made is finely woven and is 19¼–19½ in. (48·8–49·5 cm.) wide, having groups of coloured warp stripes at each side.

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292 727 E. H. Gomes (1911, p. 37) says *kalambi* "of a particular type can only be worn by men who have succeeded in securing a human head when on the warpath", but, as he does not give particulars, this statement does not help us; perhaps the *kalambi* illustrated by Hose, 1926, pl. p. 170, may be one of this kind—it is ornamented with two feathers of the hornbill, a bird everywhere associated with fighting.

It is somewhat rash to speculate upon what occasions a *kalambi* of this sort would be worn, but some of the embroidered figures seem to indicate that it was associated in some way with head-hunting.

727 825 796 One of the three principal ceremonial feasts of the Iban is *gawai burong* or *gawai pala*, "bird- or head-feast", as described by J. Perham in Ling Roth, I, p. 256; II, pp. 174 ff. When a house has obtained a head a great feast must be made sooner or later; it is not a mere matter of eating and drinking but there is much ceremony of offerings and songs, and Singalang Burong is invoked to attend. Before he can start he must call from the jungle his sons-in-law, who are the sacred birds which the Iban use as omens—hence the term *gawai burong*. The hawk (kite), *lang*, with brown body and white head and breast is a personification of Singalang Burong. The bird-chief and his dependents come from above to give to the men strength and bravery in war, and to the women luck with paddy, cleverness, and beauty. The ceremony is in fact a religious drama.

291 531 35.906. An embroidered *kalambi*. This coat is cut in exactly the same way as the others, but has different motives which have been produced by embroidery (fig. 23). Width, 17½ in. (44·4 cm.); length from shoulder to hem, 22⅝ in. (57·4 cm.).

The body of the cloth is red with warp stripes grouped on the front and back: black, yellow, red, white, black, white, red, yellow, black; these are called *surik ular kendawang*, see pp. 29, 33. The width of these grouped stripes varies, broader bands appearing at the edges of the cloth.

The sleeves, which are made from the full width of the cloth, have no other decoration than the coloured warp stripes.

The edges of the jacket are bound with red flannel and at the neck and round the badge at the back an extra row of yellow flannel with vandyked edges is added.

The number of warp groups to the inch varies from 60–74, averaging

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The number of warp groups to the inch varies from 60-74, averaging [286]
272 ends in all the stripes except the white, where they are in pairs and there are 44 pairs to the inch (88 ends). 291 531

The weft is red throughout and consists of a bundle of four, six or eight threads slightly twisted, and there are on an average 22 picks to the inch.

The motives which embellish the garment are embroidered in white and black, with the occasional addition of gold thread, usually in the form of a spot. They are entirely different from those on any other coat in the collection, as can be seen in fig. 23, which shows the front and back of the garment.

A B

Fig. 23. A, front and B, back of a *kalambi*, 35.906, with woven stripes and embroidered designs. Fig. 7, p. 15, is an enlargement of a *burong kaki panjai* in the last row of B. The badge (fig. 24) is worked in the brocade method with a gold thread weft.

On the front two isolated, *tabor*, motives appear, the cruciform one representing a flower, *bungai*, rather like pl. XXII, *i*, and, around the flower, four spots, *bintang*, "star", which are worked in gold thread. On the back, taking the figures in the broader stripes in order from top to bottom, the first represents a frog, *engkatak* (pl. XIII, *e*), the second a concealed bird, *burong bekarong*; the third a scorpion, *kala* (pl. XVII, *a*); the fourth a concealed bird slightly different from the previous one (pl. VII, *k*); and the fifth, *burong kaki panjai*, a "bird with long legs" (fig. 7). In the narrow vertical stripes there are three other motives, the upper three of each stripe, the lizard, *lachau* (pl. XII, *a*); the fifth down the stripe is the leech, *lintah* (pl. XVI, *h*), and the last represents rattan leaves, *daun wi*.

12: Haddon & Start E-4 (no date) 1936 OC6 Iban OC6

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The method by which these various devices have been produced is embroidery. If individual threads are followed it will be found that they do not all end at the lowest point of a curve or fret, but sometimes continue round it, which would be impossible if the threads were introduced during the progress of the weaving by free spools. An enlargement of one of the bird motives in which the stitches are clearly indicated is given in fig. 7.

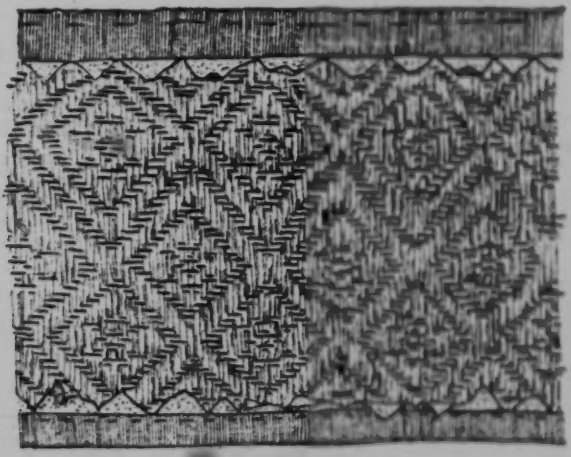

Fig. 24. Badge at the back of *kelambi* 35.906, worked in the brocade method with gold thread weft.

A new embroidery thread is begun in a somewhat unusual manner, being threaded through the cloth singly, then both ends being brought to the front it is worked as a double thread.

The badge at the bottom of the jacket at the back is not a weft-mosaic like the Saribas variety, but is worked like a brocade or damask with a floating weft, the triple gold thread (not twisted) which forms this weft being carried across the back when not needed on the right side. The warps are grouped in fours or sixes and the result is a fabric of very loose texture. Owing to the very loose texture, the coloured warps which form stripes in the cloth are visible in this jacket as a continuation across the badge; these are not shown in figs. 23, *b* and 24.

The motives in the badge (fig. 24) represent *lelambak anyam*, a flower similar to that plaited in mats (pl. XXII, *h*), and *dabong lilit*, a dog-tooth pattern in gold thread.

35.901. *Baju sungkit*, an embroidered jacket worn by women; it was made by a Nabai Iban woman.

A plain cloth jacket dyed reddish brown with an applied panel called *tandar* on the upper part of the back, which is much of the same type as the embroidered ends of *sirat*. The white cloth is of coarse texture and the panel is outlined with an inner strip of scarlet flannel and an outer one of yellow flannel. The designs are boldly embroidered in red and blue. A narrow upper border consists of a zigzag, *lelingkok*, with a *pala buntak*, "head of locust", on each apex. The lower border is labelled *pemuchok tubu*, shoot of bamboo. We have no information concerning the design of the broad central band, which is exactly like that on a "little girl's jacket, from Batang Lupar", figured by Ling Roth, II, p. 33.

35.911. Shell *kalambi*. The jacket in figs. 25, 26 is entirely decorated with *buri* shells (*Nassa* sp.) and is an exceptionally fine example of this method of ornamentation, which is now almost obsolete, European buttons being used instead. An immense amount of labour has been expended on the preparation of the shells, for the spire of each has been ground away, leaving a flat piece about $\frac{1}{16}$ in. in thickness containing the mouth of the shell. A second hole was bored and each shell was then secured to the cloth by two stitches made with strong twine (the fibre of pineapple leaves), one through the aperture and down the drilled hole, the other fastening down the narrow end.

The foundation of the garment is an indigo-dyed cotton cloth backed with a much coarser native cloth in order to give sufficient support for the weight of the shells. The front edges, side seams and armholes are further decorated by being bound with red cloth.

A very primitive and effective method of fastening is provided by means of three roughly shaped flat wooden discs on the right-hand side; each disc has a hole in the centre through which a string is knotted to hold it in place. There are corresponding loops on the left-hand edge made by tying a piece of twine through the back of a few stitches.

This jacket was originally the property of a Baju Bari Dayak from the Baram river, but there is no information whether it was a man's or a woman's

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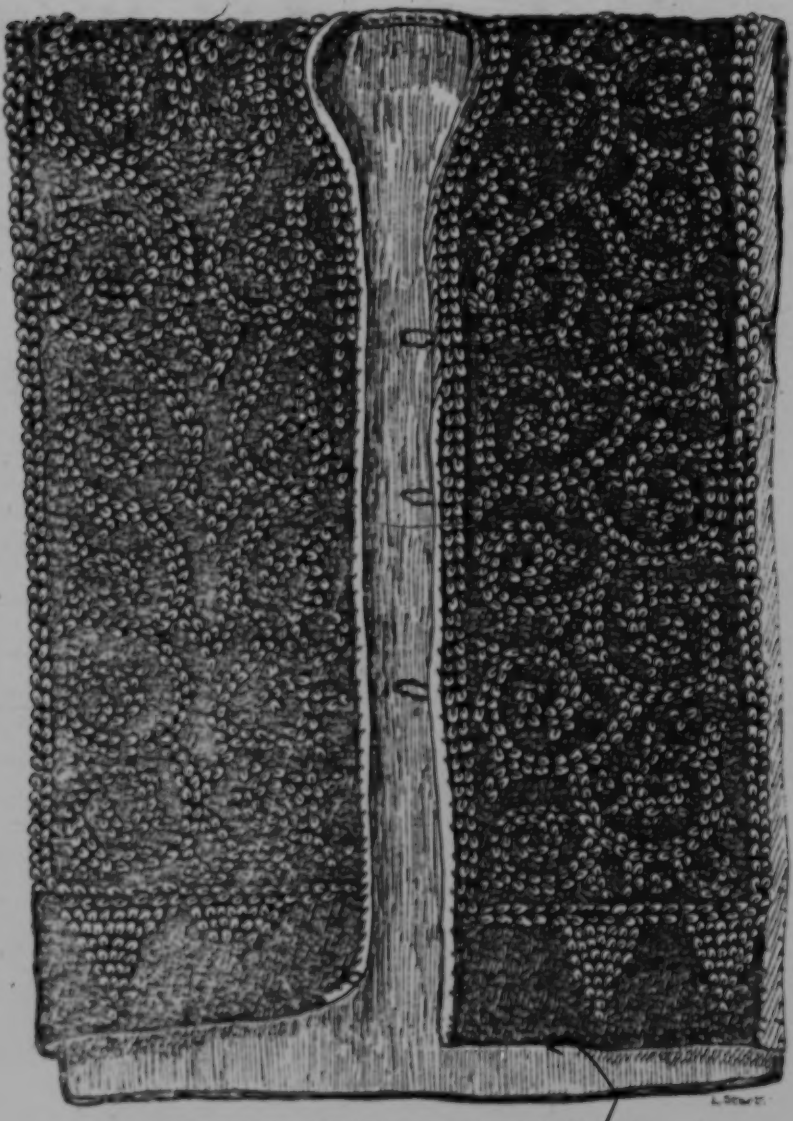

Fig. 25. Front of *kalambi* 35.911, decorated with shells.

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Fig. 26. Back of same jacket with a reptilian motive in shells.

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kalambi. Presumably the large reptile that dominates the back is a monitor lizard, *Varanus* sp. The remaining surface is covered with evenly distributed scroll-like designs, which evidently are phyllomorphic; the front of the jacket is ornamented with similar designs. Along the bottom, both back and front, is a pattern of bamboo shoots.

There is a woman's "***kalambi buri***" in the British Museum (1905, 357) very similar to ours; the front is ornamented with "scorpions, crabs, and starfish" and the back with a large "lizard". Another one (1923, 10.18.1) is of particular interest as it is made of bark-cloth; it is ornamented with a lizard, two scorpions, and scrolls also of nassa shells.

An ordinary patterned *bidang* (1905, 393) in the British Museum has a black flounce added to its lower half, which is ornamented with nassa shells arranged in triangles with curves springing from their apices; these are labelled ***punchok rebong***, "bamboo shoots".

Hose and McDougall (1, pl. 30) give a photograph of an Iban woman wearing a sleeved *kâlambi* decorated with shells; the patterns in front are more open and less complicated than those of our coat. The lower part of the *bidang* she is wearing is also decorated with nassa shells; above the terminal broad band of presumably plant-designs are scorpions or lizards with their long tails interlocked.

The supposition therefore is that our jacket is a woman's *kâlambi* and that the reptile on the back is a monitor lizard.

BIDANG, PETTICOATS

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1E

The *bidang* or women's petticoats form a particularly interesting group of cloths for study, as almost all are patterned and the patterns comprise a larger and more varied series of motives than are to be found in either the *kâlambi* (jackets) or the *pua* (blankets). Each petticoat is made from half a length of cloth as it comes from the loom and therefore exhibits one complete section of the pattern. The cut ends of the cloth are joined together by a rather coarsely sewn counter-hem, such as is often used for the sleeves of the *kalambi* (fig. 12, *c*). The completed garment is pulled on over the head and arranged around the waist, the excess in width being made into a pleat, the top of which is tucked in, to hold the garment firmly to the figure.

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The piece of cloth for a *bidang* may vary in width from just over 16 in. to nearly 2 ft. and the length from 3 ft. 6 in. to 4 ft. 3 in. The average length of 30 petticoats taken at random from a group of 40 was 3 ft. 8¾ in. and their average width just over 20 in. 291 C

BIDANG CLOTHS

The cloth used for *bidang* is generally very firm and extremely hard wearing, the yarn used being firmly spun although it varies greatly in thickness, an average section being 0·25 mm.

The yarn used for the warp colour stripes, which form borders at the top and bottom of the petticoat when in wear, but which being warp threads are really parallel with the sides of the cloth, is usually finer in section than that in the patterned part of the web. These coloured yarns are dyed in the hank before being set up in the loom with the patterned warps. The bright reds used by the Saribas Iban are usually the finest, averaging from 0·15 mm. to 0·2 mm. in section, whilst the pure white sometimes used in the border stripes is the coarsest, reaching 0·5 mm.

The white thread is the only yarn in any of the cloths which is used "doubled" in the accepted meaning of that term (i.e. two threads which are twisted upon one another) and for this reason and the fineness of its bleaching one might suspect it to have been an importation, although the twist in the single thread and the quality of the cotton fibre itself indicate native origin. It may be that the fibre is native but has been spun and doubled mechanically, instead of by hand, which would mean that the yarn was not produced by the weaver of the cloth as is usually the case. 286 291

The warps in cloths intended for *bidang* are nearly always grouped for the purpose of weaving, being usually arranged in pairs (the threads remaining parallel) or threes, though four in a group occur occasionally in the self-colour stripes, where there are usually a greater number of warp ends to the inch (fig. 27, *a*). Taking a series of 30 cloths it was found that the average number of warp ends to the inch in the self-coloured stripes was 147, whilst in the patterned ones it was only 116; this shows that the fabrics are usually more closely woven at the sides than in the centre. The close weaving of the plain colour stripes enhances their value aesthetically.

In the same set of cloths the grouping of the warps for the borders was

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286 19 pairs, 7 threes, 2 fours and 2 singles; whilst in the patterned portion the grouping was 24 pairs, 4 threes and 2 singles. A detailed analysis of 30 of these cloths is given later.

As the upper and under webs are tied together in arranging the pattern when on the tying frame, this analysis of the grouping of warps means that it is usual to tie up four threads, although on occasions the number may be eight, six or two.

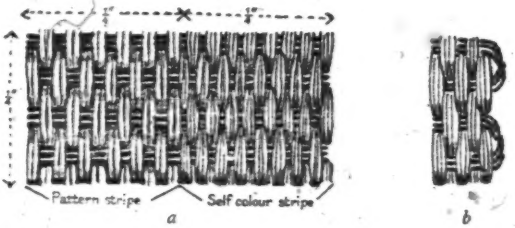

Fig. 27. *a*, Proportions of weft visible when warps are paired and grouped in threes; *b*, three parallel weft threads turned at the edge of the cloth.

The average number of weft picks or shoots to the inch in 30 cloths made for *bidang* and *kalambi* was 21·8, practically 22. In winding the weft on the spools two, three or four threads are wound at the same time and kept quite flat like a ribbon or tape, so that in passing the spool from side to side a series of parallel weft threads is carried across, an arrangement which usually makes the weft broader in section than the warp.

In the group of cloths under consideration 10 had two parallel weft threads in each pick, 11 had three, 4 had four and only 5 were single weft threads. An example with three, showing the crowding of the warps in the plain colour stripes and the turning of the weft threads at the edge of the cloth, is given in fig. 27, *b*.

The weft is usually brown in colour, either reddish or a dull vandyke shade.

The weaving itself is of the simplest type, one group of warp threads being picked up and left down alternately by the spool in passing.

The width of the weft and the large number of warp ends as compared with weft picks result in the production of a cloth with a rep or poplin weave,

in which the warp threads form the surface, and as they had been previously dyed after the pattern portion had been reserved by tying up, they produce the desired pattern.

The average width of 30 *bidang* cloths is 1 ft. 8 in. (50·8 cm.) and the average length 3 ft. 10 in. (116·9 cm.), and according to Mr Leggatt it takes several months to dye and weave a piece of cloth 45 in. in circumference, i.e. a length of 3 ft. 9 in. which has been joined by sewing.

ARRANGEMENT OF THE PATTERNS AND GENERAL COLOUR EFFECTS

Most of the *bidang* have a broad central band elaborately decorated with patterns. These patterns appear as designs in stone or buff colour against a background which is a reddish brown in most cases, but occasionally the whole of the warp for the patterned stripe is dyed a light brown first, in which case the patterns appear as light brown.

The reddish-brown ground commonly used is sometimes varied in small patches by being re-dyed in indigo so that it becomes a dark brown, almost vandyke, in those parts. Such variations usually indicate a highly skilled worker. On either side of the broad central pattern is a series of compound stripes, each composed of several narrow warp stripes of different colours. Often a colour consists of only a few warp threads, so producing the effect of a "pin stripe". Narrow patterned stripes are frequently used between these composite ones; three sets of border stripes are illustrated in fig. 28 and it will be noted that the self-colour stripes at the outer edges are often wider. In a large group of cloths (for *bidang*) they vary from half an inch to an inch and a half; sometimes there is one broad one, in other examples there is a series of three or four averaging half an inch each.

These broad self-colour stripes form a strong contrast with the quieter buff and brown pattern in the central band and provide a strong accent which is particularly pleasing in its effect.

One of the most popular arrangements of colour in the composite stripes is scarlet, black, or an indigo so dark that it appears black by contrast, and yellow; or scarlet, black, white and yellow. This arrangement is described as *ara surik kendawang*, "the coloured stripes of a snake" and is derived

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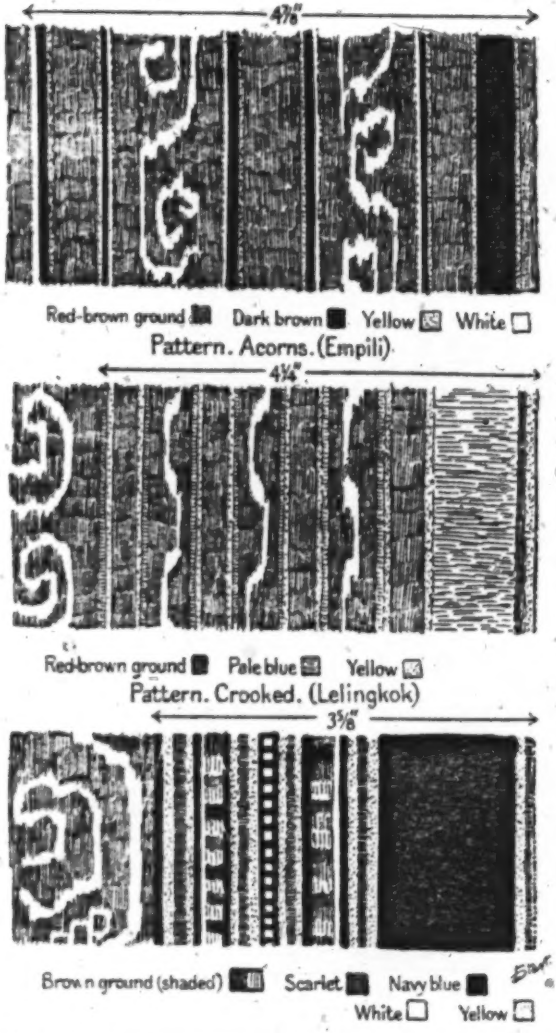

Fig. 28. Various colour arrangements in border stripes: *a*, *bidang* 35.874, p. 80; *b*, *bidang* 35.801, p. 71; *c*, *bidang* 35.878, p. 81.

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from the colouring of *Cylindrophis rufus*, a Bornean snake which has a red head, a red tip to its tail and a body striped black, white and red (see p. 33).

Unusual effects are sometimes obtained by dipping the edges of the woven cloth into an indigo dye bath for a short time. This process gives a light-blue pattern on a very dark brown, blue or black ground (according to the strength of the bath or the length of immersion) and alters the coloured border stripes, yellow becoming green, white a pale blue, and scarlet a crimson or magenta tint.

Quieter but good combinations of colour in the compound stripes are black and yellow on a brown ground; buff and dark brown on a red-brown ground; dark brown and pale blue on red-brown; and dark blue, scarlet and white. None of these have any special name but are described as *ara surik*, "a striped pattern", or as *surik anak*, "the child or young stripe", a fanciful designation for the lesser or narrower stripes.

A mourning *bidang* for a widow is obtained by immersing the whole garment in an indigo bath until the pattern appears as light blue on a black ground.

The broad central band of pattern is sometimes replaced by a plain one, and if the border patterns and compound stripes are well spaced this arrangement is sometimes very successful.

A third scheme consists in having a series of narrow patterned stripes, separated by composite colour stripes, right across the width of the cloth. Such arrangements lose a great deal in their general effect.

DESCRIPTION OF INDIVIDUAL *BIDANG*

The patterns of the following *bidang* are described in the position they occupied when being woven on the loom, not as they appear in wear; thus the term "sides" refers to the edges of the cloth running in the direction of the warp. When the petticoat is being worn these edges or "sides" become the top and bottom of the garment.

The native names of the designs are printed in italics; they were obtained when the cloths were obtained. Some *bidang* are only briefly described by us, the designs on which are often insignificant, and as they generally occur more distinctly on those cloths which are more fully treated they have not been described in detail.

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No. of cloth	Length	Width	An analysis of thirty *bidang*				Colour and special notes
			No. of warp ends to inch	Description of warp spacing	No. of weft picks to inch	Description of weft	
35.852	3 ft. 10⅝ in. (118·5 cm.)	1 ft. 9⅝ in. (55·5 cm.)	92 (46 groups)	Ends are paired; warp undyed in pattern stripes	20	Three parallel threads; colour brown	Effective, simple. White patterns on brown background. Pin stripes of black and yellow in borders
35.853	3 ft. 7⅜ in. (110 cm.)	1 ft. 7 1/10 in. (48 cm.)	72	Single; arranged white and brown alternately to produce stripes; thus 2 w., 3 b., 2 w., 3 b., 6 w., 10 b.	24	Two parallel threads. In part of cloth white —in remainder brown	A simple striped cloth—white and brown
35.854	3 ft. 8½ in. (115·5 cm.)	1 ft. 11⅝ in. (60·4 cm.)	104 ends (52 groups)	In main pattern paired	26	Four parallel Brown	Three dyeings required for patterns which have pale-brown outlines—red-brown for the inside of patterns and indigo over red-brown for the background and some spots
			128 ends (64 groups)	Paired in borders			The edge has been re-dipped in indigo
35.855	3 ft. 7 in. (109·8 cm.)	1 ft. 4⅜ in. (40·5 cm.)	120 ends (60 groups)	Paired in pattern stripe	24	Single Brown	One dyeing of red-brown on a buff warp
			112 ends	Single, in self-colour stripes			
35.856	3 ft. 10 in. (117 cm.)	1 ft. 5⅞ in. (45 cm.)	56 ends	Single, in plain central band	20	Single Brown	Plain central band of greyish black, indigo over red-brown
			160 ends (80 groups)	Paired in border self-colour stripes	20		Narrow patterned side borders of white on red-brown, divided by brown stripes with pin stripes of red, yellow and dark blue
35.857	3 ft. 6 in. (106·7 cm.)	1 ft. 6½ in. (47 cm.)	152 ends (76 groups)	Paired throughout, slightly closer in centre of cloth	42	Single. Brown	A finely woven cloth. Patterns, white and brown. Scarlet, black, and yellow self borders
35.858	3 ft. 10 in. (116·9 cm.)	1 ft. 4⅝ in. (41·9 cm.)	144 ends (72 groups)	Paired except in narrow central stripe, where in threes	28	Two parallel. Brown	Unusual, but ineffective arrangement of narrow striped patterns, divided by pin stripes in colour. There is a narrow, bright red stripe down the centre of the cloth

35.859	4 ft. (122 cm.)	1 ft. 10 in. (55·9 cm.)	96 ends (48 groups) 152 ends (76 groups)	Paired in pattern stripe In self-colour border stripes	16–20	Four parallel threads in each pick. Brown	White pattern on brown ground. Second dyeing of indigo in splashes on background. Interesting border stripes in black and white, red, black, yellow
35.860	3 ft. 10 in. (116·9 cm.)	1 ft. 10 in. (55·9 cm.)	96 ends (48 groups) 136 ends (68 groups)	Paired throughout In self-colour stripes	22	Two parallel in part, four parallel in remainder. Brown	White pattern on brown ground. Dark blue, yellow, scarlet and white self border stripes
35.861	3 ft. 10 in. (116·9 cm.)	1 ft. 10 in. (55·9 cm.)	96 ends (48 groups)	Paired throughout, a good deal of brown background used in border stripes	20–26	Two parallel. Brown	A loosely woven fabric. White pattern on brown ground. Pale blue stripes at edges and in borders
35.862	4 ft. 1¼ in. (125·1 cm.)	1 ft. 8¼ in. (52·1 cm.)	104 ends (52 groups) 128 ends (64 groups)	Paired in broad pattern stripe Paired in black and yellow, threes in scarlet self stripes	26	Two parallel threads in each pick. Brown	White pattern on brown ground. Scarlet, yellow, and black in self-colour border stripes
35.863	4 ft. 1 in. (124·5 cm.)	1 ft. 8¼ in. (52·1 cm.)	136 ends (68 groups) 216 ends (72 groups)	Paired in the pattern stripes Threes in the coloured self stripes	22	Three parallel threads. Brown	White pattern on brown ground. White, black, scarlet, and yellow border stripes
35.865	4 ft. 0¼ in. (123·2 cm.)	1 ft. 5¼ in. (43·8 cm.)	144 ends (72 groups)	Paired throughout	24	Two parallel	Evenly woven, brilliant colour. Red and brown background, buff pattern. Interesting border stripes
35.866	3 ft. 10 in. (116·9 cm.)	1 ft. 10¼ in. (57·1 cm.)	136 ends (68 groups) 144 ends (72 groups)	Paired in central band of pattern Paired in self-colour border stripes	24	Two parallel. Black, may have been brown before second dyeing	A very finely woven cloth. The colour is unusual, the cloth having been dipped in indigo after it had gone through the usual dyeing processes. The result is that the patterns appear as pale blue on a black ground, and in the border stripes red becomes maroon, yellow green, and brown black
35.867	3 ft. 10¼ in. (118·1 cm.)	1 ft. 11 in. (58·4 cm.)	88 ends (44 groups)	Paired throughout	16–18	Fourfold and parallel. Brown	Pattern white on a vandyke brown ground. A very coarse cloth
35.868	3 ft. 10 in. (116·9 cm.)	1 ft. 6 in. (45·7 cm.)	112–120 (56–60 groups) 228 ends (76 groups)	Paired but not quite evenly spaced in pattern band Threes in red self stripe	16	Three parallel threads. Light brown	Buff pattern on brown ground. Scarlet, black, and yellow border stripes with a navy blue stripe at the outer edge

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[09·d]

No. of cloth	Length	Width	An analysis of thirty *bidang*				Colour and special notes
			No. of warp ends to inch	Description of warp spacing	No. of weft picks to inch	Description of weft	
35.869	3 ft. 8½ in. (113·7 cm.)	1 ft. 8½ in. (51·7 cm.)	168 ends (56 groups) 192 ends (48 groups)	Threes in pattern stripe Fours in self-colour stripes	18	Fourfold and parallel. Dark brown	Strong colour effect as most of the red-brown background has been over-dyed blue, thus giving vandyke brown effect. Red, yellow, blue, and white self-colour border stripes
35.870	3 ft. 8 in. (111·8 cm.)	1 ft. 9 in. (53·4 cm.)	88 ends (44 groups) 108 ends (36 groups)	Paired in pattern bands Threes in self-colour stripes	24	Three parallel threads. Brown	Background red-brown and black, owing partly to over-dyeing with indigo, the pattern on it in buff and white. Red, yellow, and black self border stripes
35.871	3 ft. 10 in. (116·9 cm.)	1 ft. 7 in. (48·2 cm.)	112 ends (56 groups) 144 ends (72 groups)	Paired throughout in pattern band In self-colour stripes	23	Three parallel threads. Brown	An evenly woven cloth, of crisp firm texture
35.872	3 ft. 8 in. (111·8 cm.)	1 ft. 7½ in. (49·5 cm.)	128 ends (64 groups)	Paired throughout	20	Single. Brown	Very clear pattern in buff on a reddish brown ground with occasional vandyke spots, also touches of blue in borders. The fineness of the weft produces a fine, soft cloth
35.873	3 ft. 8 in. (111·8 cm.)	1 ft. 9 in. (53·4 cm.)	92 ends (46 groups) 176 ends (88 groups)	Paired in pattern portion and in self-colour stripes	26	Two parallel threads. Brown	Buff pattern on red-brown background
35.874	3 ft. 11 in. (119·4 cm.)	1 ft. 11 in. (58·4 cm.)	80 ends (40 groups)	Paired throughout	16	Four parallel threads. Dark brown	Extra large, coarse cloth. Buff pattern on brown ground. Border stripes and dividing lines in white, yellow, black, and brown
35.875	4 ft. 0½ in. (123·2 cm.)	1 ft. 8½ in. (51·8 cm.)	96 ends (48 groups)	Paired throughout	20	Single. Brown	Large cloth. Buff on reddish brown ground. Generally of dull appearance. Border stripes black and yellow only

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35.877	3 ft. 9½ in. (114·7 cm.)	1 ft. 7½ in. (49·3 cm.)	168 ends (56 groups)	Threes practically throughout, one or two fours	20–22	Three parallel. Brown	Very gay in colour in border stripes. Red background to central band, overdyed indigo, the pattern in buff with some parts in red. Red, yellow, blue, and black and white borders
35.878	3 ft. 8 in. (111·8 cm.)	1 ft. 7½ in. (50·1 cm.)	96 ends (48 groups) 108 ends (36 groups) 192 ends on an average	Curious irregularity in grouping of threads paired for most of pattern stripes, but in threes for 4 in. at left In self-colour stripes, threes and fours indiscriminately	15–16	Three parallel. Brown	Most brilliantly coloured in whole collection although similar to patterns in white, outlined dark brown, on reddish brown background. Narrow border stripes in yellow, scarlet, white, and navy blue, with a black and white horizontally striped border as well
35.879	3 ft. 6½ in. (108 cm.)	1 ft. 8½ in. (52·1 cm.)	132 ends (44 groups) 144 ends (36 groups)	In threes in patterned stripe In fours in red and blue self stripes	20	Two parallel. Brown	Generally dull in tone. Warps of pattern stripe dipped in weak indigo bath, after having been dyed brown. Broad outer stripes of indigo and small border stripes of red, yellow, and black
35.880	3 ft. 9 in. (114·4 cm.)	2 ft. ½ in. (62·9 cm.)	96 ends (48 groups)	Mostly grouped in twos and threes	26	Two parallel. Brown	Border stripes somewhat unusual in colour, navy blue, scarlet and orange used. The orange, yellow overdyed red. Buff pattern on reddish and black ground
35.883	3 ft. 5 in. (104·2 cm.)	Varies from 1 ft. 5 in. (43·2 cm.) to 1 ft. 3½ in. (39·4 cm.)	120–168 in patterned section 192–280 in finer border stripes	Very uneven spacing. In pattern stripes mostly paired with occasional single warps. Similarly in border stripes	24 of ordinary cloth weft, and in pattern 24 of coloured weft	Two parallel white, right across cloth between each pattern pick; eight parallel strands of red or four of black for pattern picks	Red and black embroidered pattern threads turned back at border stripes. Border stripes of red, yellow, and black enclose three narrow white stripes with embroidery, in black and red on them
35.894	3 ft. 9 in. (114·4 cm.)	1 ft. 7½ in. (50·1 cm.)	112 ends (56 groups) 144 ends (72 groups)	Paired throughout but closer spacing in dark brown self stripes	20	Three threads parallel	White pattern on brown ground. Dark brown border stripes near outer edge and series of brown and yellow self-colour pinstripes with two narrow patterned border stripes between
35.881	4 ft. 3 in. (129·6 cm.)	1 ft. 9½ in. (53·9 cm.)	108 ends (36 groups)	Grouped in threes throughout	20	Fourfold. Blue	Coarse cloth of firm texture. White pattern on blue background. Border stripes in red, yellow, and white. General colour scheme pleasant

[pp. 62–122 were not processed]

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Pua, or blankets, which may be used on ceremonial occasions as well as for coverings, are frequently decorated with anthropomorphic and crocodile figures. We do not know whether there is any connection between the representations of crocodiles and the belief that spirits of the departed may choose crocodiles as abiding places.

The *kalambi*, or coats, particularly those worn by the men, are often ceremonial garments and are usually patterned chiefly with omen birds and animals, doubtless in order that their good influences may be experienced by the wearer. In such a highly specialised coat as 35.904 (pp. 37–46) the patterns suggest that it was worn by a man who conducted the most important of Iban feasts, and we suggest that it was the property of a *manang bali*.

The everyday garments, the *bidang* and the *sirat*, are decorated with less important motives.

Those on the *bidang* are more varied and interesting and consist chiefly of mammals, birds and other animals; there are also some plant motives, mostly the *bangkit* fruit and the *tangkong* creeper with its hanging blossoms. The crossed posts of houses and the wedge usually occur together, and there are examples of fire-places, a boat, and paddles. The arenga palm and mast ("acorn") patterns are frequently used in the borders and both are of importance in the daily life of the Iban, who make toddy and sugar from the juice of the flower and ropes from the black fibres of the trunk of the arenga. The pig is one of the animals always found in abundance near an Iban village, and the so-called "acorn" *empilī* is really the nut-like fruit of a tree greatly liked by both tame and wild pigs, but "mast" is a better designation. The blossoms of the *bangkit*, and probably those of the *tangkong*, are sweet-smelling. The plants and flowers and the objects of material culture are all intimately connected with the needs of daily life, shelter, food and adornment.

Many of the designs or patterns on the *sirat*, or loin-cloths of the men, are mainly or solely confined to them, and doubtless have a special reference to the pursuits (such as the paddy fields), dangers or interests that more particularly affect men. Very common are parts of the creatures that injure crops, such as pigeons or other birds, and locusts. A curious design is that called "sleeping cats".

It is characteristic of the Iban, as well as of other peoples in Borneo, that

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Plate XXVII*

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Cloth for a *kalambi* as taken from the loom. 35.919. pp. 35, 36.

[end plate 27]

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Plate XXVIII

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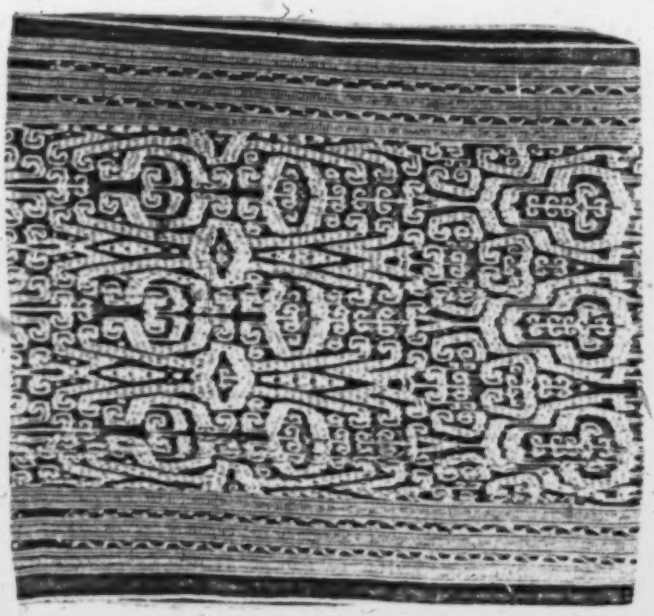
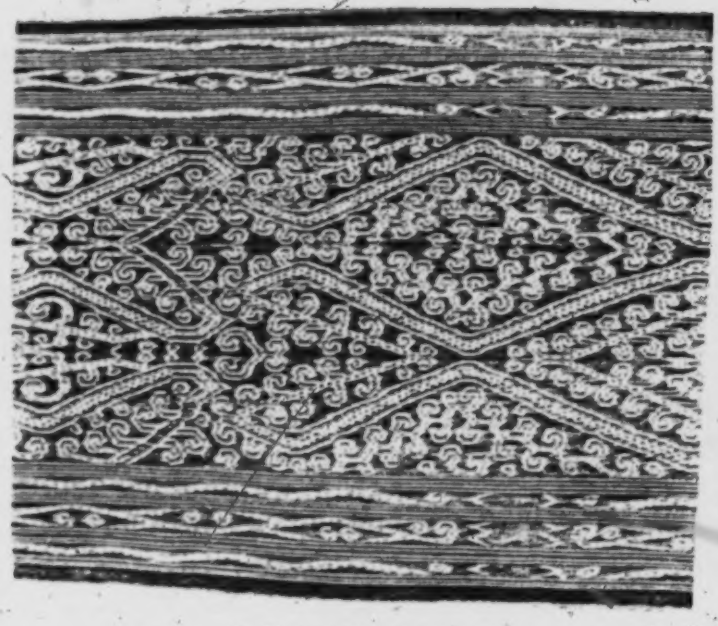


A. *Bidang* 35.859. pp. 68, 69.



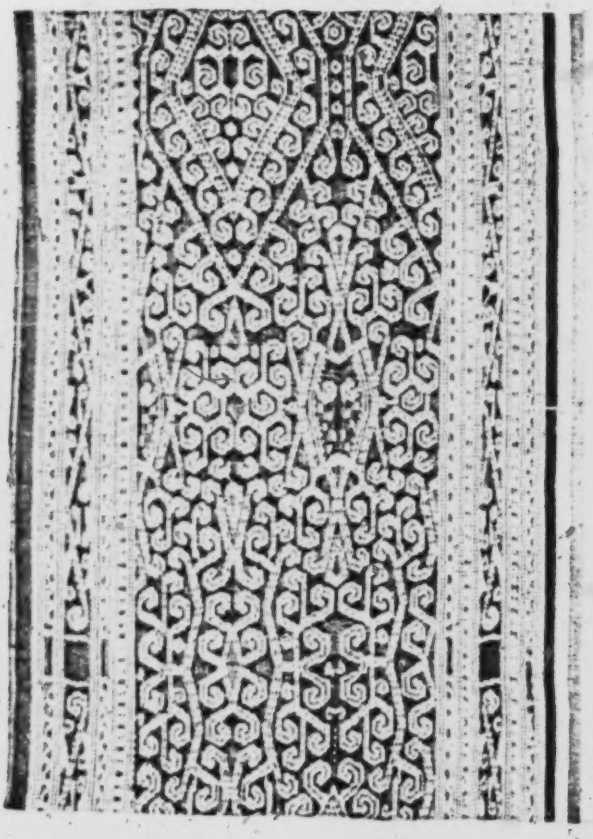
B. *Bidang* 35.863. pp. 72, 73.

[end plate 28]

12: Haddon & Start E-4 (no date) 1936 OC6 Iban OC6

Plate XXIX

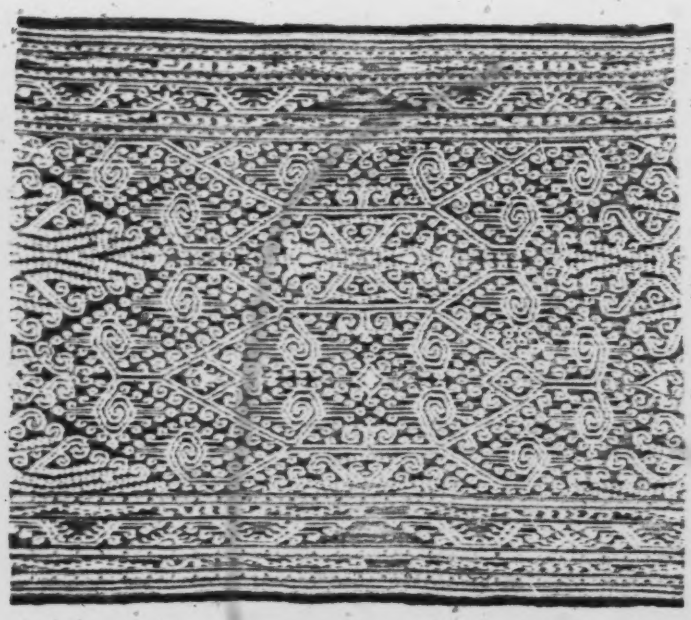
291
286
X531



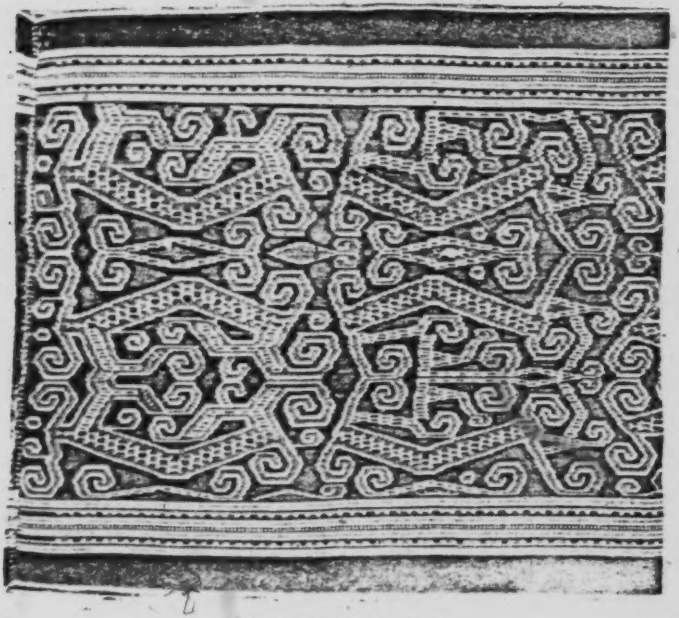
[end plate 29]

12: Haddon & Start E-4 (no date) 1936 OC6 Iban OC6

291
286
531x



A. *Bidang* 35.872, pp. 78, 79.



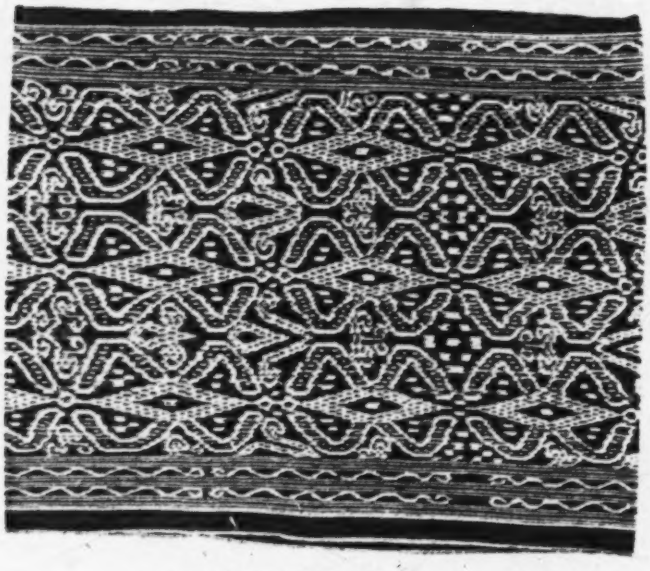
B. *Bidang* 35.878, pp. 81, 82

[and plate 30]

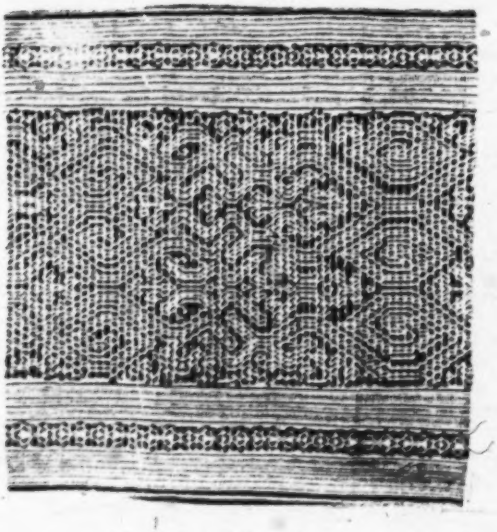
12: Haddon & Start E-4 (no date) 1936 OC6 Iban OC6

Plate XXXI

291
286
X531



A. *Bidang* 35.882, pp. 83, 84.

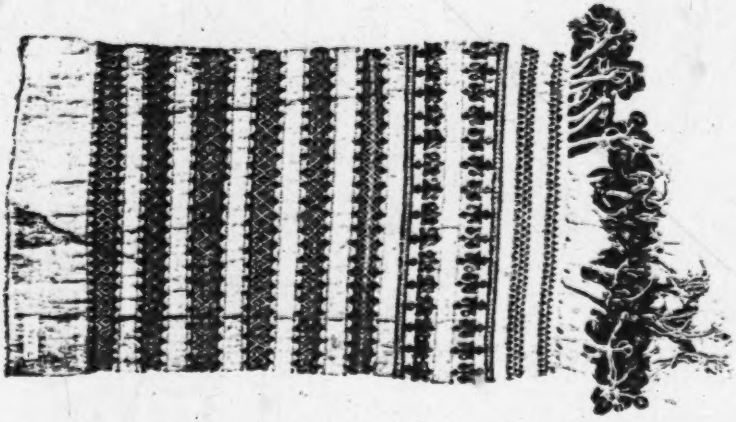


B. *bidang* 35.886, pp. 89, 90.

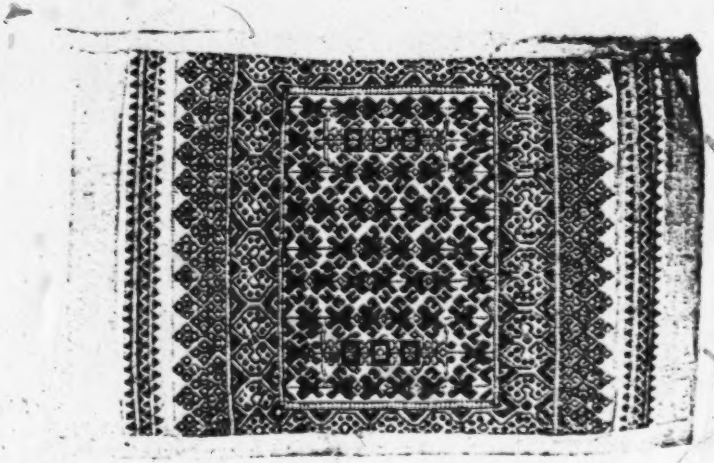
[end plate 31]

12: Haddon & Start E-4 (no date) 1936 OC6 Iban OC6

291
286
x531



B. *Klapang tirai*, type 2, Z. 2345, pp. 100, 101.



A. *Klapang tirai*, type 1, Z. 2913, pp. 94, 95.

[end plate 32]

14: Howell M-5 (ca. 1900) 1900 OC6 Iban OC6

XV. Ngepan Bujang Nganta—Costume of a Dyak Dandy.

Labong. The headkerchief. *L. buntas.* The black headkerchief embroidered with gold thread. *L. genaling*, the red and yellow headkerchief.

Lelanjang or *lelaga.* Hornbill or other feathers stuck in the *labong.*

Grunjong. Earrings.

Lilap. Pieces of thin diamond-shaped brass attached to the *grunjong.*

Tingga. Ear pendants.

Tangkong tenyalang. The horn of the Hornbill suspended from the ear.

Tenggak or *marik.* Bead necklace.

Buak tili. A knob of embossed metal attached to the necklace.

Tengkelai. Shell armlet worn round the biceps.

Simpai. Armlet above the biceps made of plaited fern (*resam*), fibre (*aping* or *ijok*), or rotan.

Unus lengan. Bracelets from the wrist up the forearm made of plaited fibre (*ijok*).

Tumpa. Brass bracelet. *T. gading.* Ivory bracelet.

Tinchin tunjok. Ring.

Saput. A square red or yellow piece of cloth with a hole in the centre through which the head is put and the cloth (often with serrated edges) then hangs over the shoulders and chest.

Tajong or *dandong.* A *sarong* hung over the shoulder.

Kain belantan. A gold-embroidered cloth hung over the shoulder.

Sirat. Waist or breech-cloth. *S. tating.* Breech-cloth with small brass bells at the ends hanging in front and behind. *S. paya.* Breech-cloth with embroidered figures.

Kabu. Fringe to the breech-cloth.

Samenting ringgit. Belt made out of dollar coins.

Tikai burit. Stern mat of rotan.

Unus. Rings of *ijok* fibre round the calf of the leg below the knee.

Engkrimok. Brass rings round the calf.

Tangkin. Sword.

Engkerurai. Native bag-pipe.

XVI. Ngepan Dara Nganta—Gala costume of a Dyak Lady.

Sugu pirak. Silver-mounted comb.

Pasuga tisir. Upper part of the comb.

Lilap. Diamond-shaped ornament on the comb.

Tusuk pending, engkrabu, tensang pending, or *sumpun.* Earring.

Tenggak. Necklace of beads, silver-coins, etc.

Marik. Beads. *M. ampan.* Beads threaded and worn in rows down to the breasts.

Tumpa. Bracelet or rings of brass on the wrists. *T. rangki.* Armlet made of a sea shell (*rangki*).

Tinchin tunjok. Finger ring.

Ratoai. Brass rings threaded upon rotan and worn like a corset round the body from armpit to midway between the waist and the fork.

Kenyawir. A diamond-shaped metal ornament tied on the *ratoai.*

Ringgit. Dollar coins worn round the waist above the *ratoai.*

Segai. A silver, or a silver-coin belt.

Kain. Petticoat. *K. tating.* Petticoat with small brass bells (*grunong*) hung on to its lower border. *K. sungkit.* An embroidered petticoat.

Tisi kain. Edging of the petticoat worked with gold thread.

Sabit. Finely wrought brass chains worn from the waist to the border of the *kain.* *S. pirak.* Similar chains but of silver.

Selampai or *Kain besai.* A cloth worn round the throat with the ends hanging down the back.

Kalambi. A jacket.

Baju sungkit. A jacket with a square embroidered on the back. *B. tabor* or *B. ara.* A jacket embroidered with gold at back and down part of the front.

Somg. Brass rings worn on the legs.

XVII. Kayu—A Tree.

Urat, the root.
Geta, gutta.
Ai (*kayu*), the sap.
Kulit, the bark.
Kulit manis, the soft part of the wood next to the bark.
Bandir, a buttress.
Pun, the stem.
Batang, the trunk.
Kayu, the wood.
Bungkong, a knot in the wood.
Puak, pith of soft wood.
Tras or *kak*, the heart of hard wood.
Dan, branch.

17:Bedford D-5 (1958) 1959 OC6 Iban OC6
Rumah Bujak

Living as they do near the bazaar, contact with it has necessarily influenced the way of life of these people considerably. All the men have short hair and many of the women have waves. They wear a Malay type of dress or European clothes.

The majority of the people in the house profess Christianity. The majority of children in the house have for many years attended the mission school in Simnaggang. The majority of people in the house are able to read and write. Several members have attained a fairly high standard of education and are employed in Government Service.

* * *

To summarize the background briefly: Rumah Bujak is an average longhouse in the lower Batang Lupar as regards position, standard of construction and state of cleanliness. The people have attained a high level of prosperity on Sea Dayak standards. As a result their standard of living is way ahead of longhouses in many other areas of the Second Division.

DIETARY SURVEY

Method

As a sufficient proportion of the population of the house were able to write, each room was asked to keep a diary of everything they ate and drank at every meal for one week, starting on the 23rd March, 1958. At the end of this period the results were collected and the weight likely to be consumed by an average adult male was assigned to each food commodity. The estimate for rice was the most accurate since it is customary at this longhouse to measure the rice used for each meal in cigarette tins full. A portion of rice cooked for each meal is wasted but as this must be very variable no allowance was made for it; so that as rice forms usually a high proportion of the daily food intake (see below) the results will tend to err on the high side. An attempt was made to estimate the weight of other food commodities consumed without bias, so that errors would be mutually exclusive and not cumulative.

Having estimated the weight of each food commodity, its protein, fat, carbohydrate and calorie content was calculated from

352 Only the poorest families do not have at least one large bed in the bilik and mattresses of kapok are increasingly common. Beds and mattresses are purchased from Chinese craftsmen in Sibu and then transported, often with much difficulty, to the longhouse. Mattresses on beds may be covered with tikai or, if they are placed on the floor, are rolled up against one of the walls when not in use. Pillows and mosquito nets complete the sleeping gear found in many bilik.

342 513 Married men and women sleep in the bilik, along with their young children. Girls always sleep in the bilik or sadau, while boys begin to sleep on the ruai from age twelve. Nursing infants sleep with their mothers and fathers or, if space in bed is inadequate, fathers sleep apart from the others, usually on the floor not far from them. In the few situations encountered of three-generation families who operate a shop, parents in the senior generation always slept in the shophouse, sometimes with a grandchild, and the intermediate generation slept in the bilik.

342 422 Most families keep their property in the bilik, and all heirlooms, such as old Chinese jars (tajau), large bronze gongs (tawak), sets of gamelan gongs (engkerumong), and the family's sacred rice (padi pun) [352] [177] and rice medicine are stored there or in the sadau. Increasingly, Chinese-made cupboards, desks, tables and chairs appear in the bilik. In six of the bilik at Rumah Nyala, vinyl-covered, foam-rubber cushioned chairs and [291] couches are found. Traditional costumes and fabrics are still stored in the bilik, but now with colorful synthetic clothes in glass-doored cupboards like display cases.

18:Sutlive E,M-5 (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OC6 Sibu

Upon the return of a man from a trip offerings of thanksgiving were made. In 1971, when Minggu anak Janti of Rumah Nyala returned on leave from the Commandos, a special service called niat ("Good Luck") was observed at Bukit Aup. Sacrifices were made and special food prepared to give thanks for the safe return of Minggu after months away from home.

Mobility among the Ibans is not limited to physical movement but includes also the flexibility which marks their social organization and culture. We have discussed the relative ease of attachment to and detachment from the bilik-family, and how the very vagueness of the boundaries of the kin-group, kaban, permits inclusion of members of other ethnic groups as well as other Ibans. Ibans who marry members of other groups still are included in their natal kin-group and looked to for hospitality and other help by their kinsmen. In the problematic area of land tenure and the law which prohibits Chinese owning land in the Native Area, several pengulu have adopted Chinese men as grandsons, thereby legitimizing land holdings of the Chinese in the Native Area.

The adoption of values and styles of other ethnic groups also is related to the cultural mobility of the Ibans, and even in remote longhouses it is not uncommon to find walls plastered with pictures from the "Asia Magazine" or American west coast newspapers.[21] Iban young men and women are sensitive to new styles (Iban, stail), and many young men are natty dressers with long hair, low-slung flair trousers and even simulated leather

[21] These are shipped in large quantities to local shopkeepers and used for wrapping purchases.

jackets, and girls with mini-skirts. I was surprised while in a barber's shop to spy in a mirror two young Iban males having their hair set in permanent waves (Iban, dikaran from "current"). Whereas a generation ago young men had their ears pierced, scores of men have had operations in hospitals in Kapit and Sibu to have the distended lobes removed. During the late 1950's, a popular style among many Ibans was to have the front teeth capped with gold as a display of wealth. Some went farther and had stones in the shapes of hearts and crosses set in the gold caps. This fad has given way in the past decade to glistening porcelain dentures.

The relative endurance of a style among the highly impressionable Iban young people and even some of their adults appears to be related to its acceptance among members of other ethnic groups. What may be acceptable in the rural longhouse may be open to ridicule in the pasar, where Ibans associate with other groups to whose opinions and criticisms they are most sensitive. For example, some men may wear the traditional loincloth (sirat) in the longhouse and while working in the rural area, but would not think of wearing it to town where only those from remote areas, unlearned in the ways of the pasar, would do so. Men continue to have their hair waved or let it grow long, wear flaired or skin-tight trousers, and pointed shoes because there is acceptance of such styles among other groups. Young women wear mini-skirts, the Malay sarong and kebaya and slacks in their conformity to stail. But distended ear lobes and stone-in-gold teeth have passed because they were unaccepted by other groups who on occasion made cutting remarks about the practices.

Sumba OF17
Timor OF20
Borneo OC1
Iban OC6

[516 cont.]

S 286 531 tint is imposed upon a red background. Lovely, fiery orange sparkles here and there on the [517] cloth next to red and yellow; tiny specks of blue and green soften the vivid color effects" (1).

1. J.A. Loeber, op. cit., p. 52.

S 291 In the eastern part of Sumba the warp is ikat dyed; in the western part of the island the floating woof prevails. The men as well as the women wear these cloths, not as sarongs, but thrown over the shoulder.

T 291 286 Timorese cloth, the sarongs worn by the women, is characteristically made of narrow, horizontal strips with gay colors running through it. It is tied under the breasts.

B 286 291 [287] The original woven work of Borneo, as far as the coast is concerned, and commonly farther into the interior, has been driven out by foreign influences. Where this has not happened, the clothing is still largely made from pounded tree-bark, often beautifully decorated. Furthermore, as we have already mentioned, the weaving of fibers is still carried on here, and, in addition, as a higher stage of development, cotton weaving. Among some tribes, for example, the Kantoek-Dajak and various small tribes in the north and northwest of this great island, there are ikat fabrics whose patterns remind one of the Sumba fabrics.

The state of the weaving here, too, naturally is closely connected with clothing. There are some differences in details, but in the main it is the same among all the tribes of the interior. For the Dajak men the primary article is the loincloth; originally made of pounded tree-bark, it is now increasingly of cotton.

I 286 [462] The upper part of the body is commonly covered with a jacket, also of pounded tree-bark or white cotton. Among the Sea Dajak this jacket is woven by the women in various colored patterns.

I ● 291 The principal article of clothing for women is a jacket of tree-bark or white cotton, sometimes reaching the ankles, sometimes only to the knees. The Sea Dajak are an exception also as regards female attire, which consists chiefly of a short

Iban OC6
Makassar OC6
Gorontolo OC4
Sangirese OC9

[517 cont.]

I 291 cotton garment in various colors for the lower part of the body, a similar jacket, and a sort of corset or rattan rings, all mounted I in small, vertically placed rings of beaten copper, which tightly [301] fits the body (2).

2. T. J. Bezemer, "De Binnenlandsche Stammen van Borneo [The Interior Tribes of Borneo]," in De Volken van Nederlands Indië, I, p. 283.

M 288 531 [518] An important independent weaving industry is found on the small island of Saleyer, just off southern Celebes. Bright colors are very popular, and checked and striped patterns are preferred.

G 286 291 Of the weaving done on northern Celebes we shall mention only the Bèntenan kain. Bèntenan is a little place on the south-east coast of the northern peninsular of Celebes. The fabrics are named after this little place, but they are also made in other places. They are woven cloths, sometimes ikat, sometimes not, which originally seem to have been used only by mothers to carry their babies on their backs, but later, by sewing together three of these quite narrow kain, they were used also as sarongs. In contrast with most of the cloth woven in the archipelago, the Bèntenan fabrics are nearly always tubular cloths woven with a circular warp. The patterns are geometrical figures and are G very similar to the ikat fabrics of the more easterly part of the [292 565] archipelago. For example, they bear human figures with raised hands (1). Originally, little Bèntenan cloths were used to cover

1. See Kunstnijverheid in Nederlandsch-Indië, II, pp. 270 ff.

S 286 291 531 the seats of notables and priests.

The beautiful koffo fabrics come from the Sangir and Talaud Islands. Nothing shows the relationship between weaving and plaiting better than the koffo cloth. "The pattern of the Sangirese